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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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19 September 1985

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#### COL KISSASSUNDA ON MALANJE POLITICAL-MILITARY SITUATION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Jun 85 p3

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[Interview with Col Ludi Kissassunda, provincial commissar of Malanje; in Malanje, date not given]

[Text] Malanje--In a recent interview, Col Ludi Kissassunda, member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA-Party of Labor, coordinator of the party provincial committee and provincial commissar of Malanje, succinctly explained the principal party and socio-economic aspects of Malanje Province and made an analysis of the current political-military situation prevailing in that political-military region.

[Question] In your capacity as coordinator of the party provincial committee of Malanje, can you say something about the party work that is being carried out in this province?

[Answer] The party in Malanje Province has been carrying out a broadly positive effort despite the fact that some difficulties still persist, as is the case of the lack of transportation and political activists.

At the moment, we have 241 grassroots organizations in the province, 135 of which are established on the farm, 35 in the enterprises and 71 in the services, with over 2.000 members.

This may be regarded as a large number of grassroots organizations on the farm but it is easily understandable inasmuch as the province is basically agricultural.

The party work has been positive and the fruits derived therefrom are the true reflection of the real situation.

[Question] How would you describe the current socio-economic development of the province?

[Answer] By decision of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos an integrated agroindustrial development program was conceived for Malanje Province. Various projects have already been begun and others are practically completed, as is the case of the great stockpiling of fuels, of the "manautos" [unknown term] 70 and 71, the microwave system, the Katepa milling factory and the Deolinda Rodrigues ceramics facility.

At the same time, we have already received the equipment to expand the cottonginning factory in Cacuso and rice-hulling plant in Malanje, which is a great undertaking for the development of the province.

In the meantime, under study are the establishment of a farm implements factory, a textile complex, completion of the provincial hospital project, the repair of some buildings and implementation of the Kapanda dam project.

Also under study is the construction of a highway that will link the main centers of the Kassanje Lowland to increase cotton-growing, and another between the municipalities of Quela, Suinjinji, Kunda-Dia-Base and Marimba, which will receive financing from the African Development Bank (ADB).

Meanwhile, not everything has been easy in implementing the projects conceived for the province, which is understandable if we consider the war situation in which we are living, which makes it necessary to divert much of the attention that would otherwise be directed toward economic development.

Along with that, there are really situations that concern the provincial party and government inasmuch as the decisions connected with the integrated development program have not been completely fulfilled by some agencies of the central government in terms of practical execution.

Proof of that is the preparation of the plan itself, the drafting of which by a Portuguese company is still far behind schedule because the company encountered difficulties in relation to some agencies which were supposed to collaborate in providing some data.

The present situation creates problems for the province because we cannot go forward; 3 years have already gone by and the plans have not yet been completed.

Thus, we have conceived local initiatives and that is the way that projects have already been begun with coordinated intervention in the communes of Kota and Lombe due to their physical and population characteristics as well as their location, utilizing the existing organizational bases.

On the other hand, one of the greatest problems that the province is going through is connected with the hotel sector, since there is not a single unit worthy of the name in the province.

[Question] Col Ludi Kissassunda, after speaking of the development projects, we would like to know something about farm marketing and the farmers' association movement.

[Answer] The farm marketing process involves almost all of the economic structures of the province through the provincial and municipal supply committees. This activity has earned the special attention of the party and government because solving the farm problems, marketing the farmers' products

and attending to their social problems will enable the people to feel encouraged and continue with their daily work, creating solid party bases on the farm.

With regard to the farm associations, they are supplied under a special system issuing directly from the Internal Trade structures and within the party principle of "priority for those who work," which has given good results.

At this time, there are about 211 first and second-level associations with more than 17,000 associates, which represents about 20 percent of the farm population of the province.

[Question] What has been the participation of the people in the various tasks on behalf of the socio-economic development and defense of the province?

[Answer] With regard to that point, I can state that the people are actively participating in the work, in the organs of popular power, in defense, in the unions, in the farmers' organizations, the latter being democratically organized.

A considerable number of people are participating in the Popular Vigilance Brigades, in the reserve and territorial battalions with the main objective in the rearguard of defending the economic goals and national sovereignty.

[Question] In your capacity as chairman of the Regional Military Council, how do you describe the present political-military situation prevailing in the territory?

[Answer] In the first place, in this political-military region, the enemy's objectives are, on the one hand, to divert the attention of our troop command from its real objectives, massacring, sacking and burning people's property with the aim of creating a climate of destabilization and, on the other, to carry out attacks to sabotage economic targets, as well as to strike the coffee-growing, oil and diamond areas.

At this time, the Defense and Security Forces of this region are pursuing the puppet bands, inflicting heavy casualties as well as releasing the people kidnaped and capturing enormous quantities of weapons and military materiel.

Another objective of the enemy is to establish itself in North Kwanza Province and in the west of Malanje Province, which has not been possible due to the prompt response of the Defense and Security Forces.

Nevertheless, it is important to increase the local defense of the people so that the blows inflicted against the enemy may be ever greater, thwarting its designs in the 9th Military Region.

That being the case, our troops continue to operate actively. A little over 45 days ago, numerous camps were destroyed and an airlift of military materiel was detected in the areas of the municipalities of Marimba and Kunda-Dia-Base in Malanje Province.

Although the enemy has a strong rearguard composed of South African and U.S. racists, considering the heavy blows it has suffered in human and material resources, we believe that its end is not far.

[Question] What are the prospects for future work?

[Answer] We envisage the continuation of the work begun, fulfillment of the party and government decisions, priority for defense tasks, the armed organization of the population into reserve battalions and defense corps of the farm associations, as well as reinforcement of the existing units.

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#### MEASURES TO REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN INSTRUCTORS DISCUSSED

Training of Angolan Cadres

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Lubango--The Superior Institute of Educational Sciences (ISCED), an institution of the Agostinho Neto University that is responsible for training middle-level teaching cadres and specialists for the national educational sector, is going to present the product of its 5 years of existence with the first graduation of 49 master's degree recipients in various courses who in the near future will augment the list of high-level cadres educated in the People's Republic of Angola 10 years after national independence.

In this institution of higher learning established in 1980 in fulfillment of the decisions of the First MPLA-Labor Party congress, about 12 courses are being given in five departments. These are: educational sciences, social sciences, exact sciences, natural sciences and modern literature, with a total of 334 students, in addition to recently established extension courses being taken by more than 600 students distributed over all the provinces in the country.

Though the first 3 years of its existence were marked by difficulties of various types, it can be stated today without exaggeration that the teaching in the ISCED is of indisputable "quality" because it is guaranteed by a mixed teaching corps of high-level technical-pedagogical capability with several years of experience in university teaching, coming mainly from the friendly countries such as the German Democratic Republic, Vietnam and Cuba, in addition to a very small number of national professors.

Its director, Vatomene Kukanda, told us that the institution he directs is currently engaged in guiding the work which the finalists will present as masters' theses, a minimum of 60 pages, on the teaching problem in Angola.

He declared also that the scientific research work to be defended before a specialized jury possesses a certain scientific level already evaluated by German, Vietnamese and Cuban specialists, which really proves that all of the students are intensely engaged in this task the financial costs of which are borne by the university itself.

Among the subjects of the theses are: "Critique of Some Aspects of So-Called African Socialism and the Fighting Spirit in Teaching Marxism-Leninism," "Teaching of the History of the National Liberation Movements and the Education of Patriotism in the Angolan Student," and the "Development of Logical Thinking in the Teaching of Physics in the 10th Grade (mechanics, optics, geometry, electromagnetic field)." Their conclusions will greatly benefit the development of the educational system in our country.

#### Cooperate To End Cooperation

The main objective that guides the ISCED is to meet the challenge of the training of cadres: that is, to seek to utilize the work of the existing teaching corps to the maximum. In a slow but sure process, the ISCED is going to educate its university professors with the collaboration of foreign cooperation since the best cooperation is the one that ends cooperation.

In this context, of the 49 master's degree recipients, 23 students with good political-ideological, academic and social behavior will be selected (with the authorization of the rector's office and the supervising ministry to become the nucleus of intern assistants in the ISCED who, alongside the foreign cooperation aides, will be learning and perfecting their skills as university professors.

The rational utilization of the teacher corps that is working conscientiously could only be beneficial and profitable to the country with the attendance of an ever greater number of guided students because as Vatomene Kukanda emphasized: "If a professor is good for 5 or 10 students, he can also be so for 300 or 400 students," which is not happening at the ISCED at the present time due to the lodging limitations of the dormitory, which has a maximum capacity of 200 beds, making the admission of other candidates impossible.

The years are passing and the ISCED is growing with the ever greater needs that this type of institution has. Therefore, despite the situation we are going through, it is necessary for us to begin to think of implementing what was envisioned years ago because the development of a country necessarily depends on the intellectual level of its people and our university is here to educate men with a new vision of the socialist society that we want in Angola.

#### Extension Education

As was provided at the time it was established, it is the function of the ISCED as an institution of higher learning to train educators capable of implementing the objective of building the new man.

Thus it is that extension education began and already has more than 600 self-taught students at the national level. Eighteen provincial and nine interprovincial affiliates have been created which supervise the distribution and guidance of the necessary educational material as well as the holding of seminars.

This experience in our country with its own characteristics—regarded as one of the [first] countries in Africa to try this type of education to accelerate the training of cadres—cannot begin without facing difficulties. Obviously, there are material difficulties, mainly in the preparation of support texts and bibliography.

The Lubango Institute of Higher Education still has ornithology, physics, chemistry and biology laboratories equipped with modern material that permit improved knowledge of animal species and practical experimentation to support the theoretical class work.

Independently of the extension education, the ISCED sections of the schools of economics and law are already at full operation, which leads to the conclusion that there is an urgent need for new buildings for our unviersity, whose role in the social and economic development of the country is preponderant, and these problems must be faced earnestly not only by the rector's office but also by other government agencies.

Institute-Enterprise Pacts Recommended

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] The Third National Middle and Preuniversity Education Meeting, which was closed in Luanda yesterday by the deputy minister of education for middle and higher education, Joao Filipe Martins, recommended the establishment of agreements between the institutes and the enterprises for the integration of students production units that will contribute to their training.

The meeting also recommended that measures be taken on a school schedule and a heavier workload for the teachers at the two educational levels with a view to greater pedagogic yield.

On closing the meeting, Joao Filipe Martins deplored the meager incentives inclining the student toward a regular teaching career and said that assuring their education by foreign cooperation aides paid for in foreign exchange makes the middle-level cadre one of the most expensive in the country. The deputy minister expressed apprehension about the weak command of the Portuguese language by the foreign teaching corps because that is the knowledge transmission link and, with regard to the present state of the schools, suggested that a liking for manual labor be developed among the students.

Present at the ceremony were the director of the Department of Education and Culture of the MPLA-Labor Party, Carlos Geral, and the national director of middle and preuniversity education, Ana Maria Guimaraes.

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COURSE FOR POLITICAL INSTRUCTORS OPENED IN CABINDA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Cabinda--The first course for Political Instruction Center (CIP) instructors was opened at noon yesterday at the Party Provincial School in the "buala" [unknown native term] of Bume-Lambuto at a ceremony presided over by the coordinator of the Ideological Area Department (DEI) and member of the executive committee of the Party Provincial Committee, Antonio Delfina Kuti.

On that occasion, that party leader made a brief speech in which he stressed the importance of this first course for political instructors which will permit the speedy political advancement of party members and outstanding workers.

The coordinator of the provincial DEI, who regarded the political instruction centers as an instrument of political and ideological education and training as well as a means of disseminating the political line laid down by our vanguard party, also cautioned the students about the need to think of political and ideological education constantly in order to eliminate the prejudices and complexes inherited from colonial society.

Participating in the course which will last 8 weeks are 11 students from the most diverse municipalities in the province. The courses to be taught are: the building of the party, the history of the MPLA and pedagogical method. Some of the objectives of this course are the need for massive political study within the party in order to permit an ever deeper analysis and understanding of the political line and policies of the party in addition to giving party members the scientific knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Present at the opening ceremony were officials of the Party Provincial Committee and guests.

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OFFICIAL VISITS HUAMBO, URGES YOUTH ENLISTMENT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Huambo--A party-government delegation headed by the coordinator of the Department of Administration and Finances (DAF) of the Party Provincial Committee, Joao Baptista Tombo, recently made assistance and supervision visits to the organizations and agencies of the municiapalities of Mungo, Bailundo and Londuimbale to assess the overall activities carried out and to listen to the difficulties that are affecting the people.

During the delegation's stay in Mungo Municipality, one of the important fronts in the struggle against the armed bandits, meetings with the traditional authorities responsible for the party grassroots organizations were sponsored, centered on an analysis of the political-military and socioeconomic situation of the area.

The visit to Mungo Municipality, which included visits to historic places, culminated in the holding of a popular rally at which Joao Baptista Tombo was the speaker. He portrayed the climate of war that still prevails in the country and stressed the determination of the defense and security forces to defend the interests of all the people.

The DAF coordinator described the situation of the municipality as extremely difficult due to the action of the puppets in the pay of racist South Africa which has merited the prompt response of our defense and security forces.

The need to fight without respite against the bandits, the mass enlistment in the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) ranks by the youths, as well as the need to increase production to improve the municipality's self-sufficiency in food were also pointed out during the rally.

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#### CUBAN INTERNATIONALIST WORKERS IN BENGUELA HONORED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Benguela--About 50 Cuban internationalist workers were honored at a farewell ceremony held in this province last Thursday, at which the coordinator of the ideological sector of the Provincial Party Committee presided, and party, government and mass and social organization officials were present.

At the ceremony, which was held in the premises of the UNECA [Union of Caribbean Construction Enterprises], medals were presented to all of the internationalist workers who have been carrying out missions in the education and health sectors for the past 24 months.

Beatriz Valdez, who delivered the farewell address, said that the work now completed has inscribed yet another chapter in the history of the two sister peoples, despite the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to interfere with the aid the Cuban people have provided to the Angolan people.

This teacher, speaking on behalf of her colleagues, said that they are prepared at any time to aid others as well who continue to be subject to the inhuman regimes of the colonialists and imperialists. She also condemned the crimes committed by the South African racists for the purpose of upsetting the Angolan economy, as in the recent aggressive attempt to sabotage the oil installations in Malongo in the province of Cabinda.

Minister Visits Benguela

Minister of Internal Trade Adriano dos Santos Junior paid a working visit to the province of Benguela day before yesterday.

The visit paid by Minister Adriano dos Santos to Benguela comes within the framework of visits to aid and check on the structures of the ministry he heads.

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#### COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH BELGIUM

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Jun 85 p 12

[Text] The conference room of the Ministry of Petroleum was the scene of the signing yesterday afternoon of the second cooperation agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Kingdom of Belgium in the framework of the energy sector of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

The minister of energy and petroleum, Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem "Loy" signed the agreement for the Angolan side while Ambassador Estraordinary and Plenipotentiary Emile Massan signed for the Belgian side.

The value of the agreement, valid for 3 years, is calculated at approximately 60 million Belgian francs, equivalent to almost \$1 million, and pertains to implementation of SADCC Project 005 aimed at the installation of a data bank in Angola for the energy sector.

The data bank is comprised of a computerized section in which all the data pertaining to SADCC's energy sector will be analyzed and stored.

The data bank project was approved at the SADCC meeting in Maputo in June 1983 and is the first computerized operation to perform work within the framework of that nine member-country community.

One physical part of the project is already in Luanda and will go into operation in the next quarter of this year at the Administrative Technical Unit of SADCC's energy sector the coordinator of which is Angola.

Angolan and Belgian experts will work in the data bank and, as was established in the agreement, Angolan cadres will be trained in order to permit the bank to operate with approximately 90 percent national personnel.

Speaking at the end of the ceremony, Pedro Van-Dunem began by stressing Angola's importance in the energy sector for the development of the SADCC countries, adding also that in the assertion of its rightful position in this sector, Angola has always relied on the support of Belgium in both the technical and financial aspects.

Concluding his impromptu speech at the ceremony, which he considered simply but significant, he thanked the Belgian Government for the high level of support and contribution given to Angola's development and coordination of this zone.

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CSO: 3442/340

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#### SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY TO KWANZA-NORTE REESTABLISHED

Luanda JORNAL DO ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Sumbe--The peripheral neighborhoods and some zones in the city of Sumbe which have been without electrical energy since last year are now lighted again, thanks to the commissioning of a generator set with a capacity of 823 horsepower purchased for the purpose.

The energy problem has been the focus of the attention of the authorities in the province in recent times, especially where the main cities (Porto Amboim, Gabela and Waku-Kungo) are concerned, not only because of their population density, but also because they have small processing industries which are of importance to the socioeconomic development of the province.

With the supply of electricity reestablished for the capital of the province, the reopening of the former Sporting and Kilambas cinemas is also anxiously being awaited.

#### JMPLA Conference

The first national conference of coordinators of cells of the JMPLA [Youth Movement of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party Youth at the MINSE [Ministry of State Security] ended Friday, after a study in depth of the organizational situation of the party units at the base, in connection with the campaign to strengthen the combat training of fighters and their active contribution to the party.

The meeting was held in the former CADA [Angolan Agricultural Company] premises in Amboim. "Let us consolidate the base organizations of the JMPLA-Party Youth in order to increase the political, ideological, combat, operational and disciplinary capacity of the forces at the ministry" was its theme.

The head of the party organization department at the National Political Office of the MINSE, Captain Candido Brito, presided at the meeting. The level of implementation of the guidelines on the graduation of members of the youth group to party membership was assessed, making it possible to deal with the irregularities found in their execution.

The participants in the conference learned about the guidelines on political study materials for this year, the holding of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, and the role of the base organizations in connection with this event. They heard a number of talks dealing with burning themes pertaining to the present domestic and international political situations.

#### Fifth MININT Anniversary

The activities in celebration of the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Ministry of Interior began in this city of Friday with a visit by veterans to that ministry.

The program scheduled for the purpose, which will run until the 23rd of the month (Monday), includes the collection of donations in support of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students and visits to nurseries, old people's homes, the National Oil Institute and the 17 September Provincial Hospital.

Talks will also be given in the peripheral neighborhoods of the city, to the workers at the MINCI [Ministry of Internal Trade], in construction and in the Ngunza Fishing Complex, as well as to the combatants in the TGFA, ODP and State Security. "The Role of the Ministry of Interior in Defending the Conquests of the People" will be the theme of all of them. Also in salute to this event, plans call for "stop" operations in the streets, women's competitions, indoor soccer matches and evening dances, as well as cultural activities.

#### FROZEN FISH STORAGE FACILITIES COMMISSIONED IN NAMIBE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Namibe--Minister of Fisheries Emilio Guerra recently commissioned two fish-processing and freezing centers in the cities of Namibe and Tombua. The operations were inaugurated at ceremonies attended by the ambassador of Italy accredited to Angola, Francesco De Courten, and the deputy director general of the European Economic Community.

The facilities in question are the ARAN and Fighting Angola fishing complexes, which were shut down about 6 years ago. The rehabilition work was done by the ORES, an Italian refrigeration enterprise, with EEC financing. The ARAN production center has a total capacity for processing 8,600 tons of fish. In this first phase, only the capacity for processing 1800 tons has been reactivated. It also has four cold storage chambers and an equal number of freezer tunnels.

The Fighting Angola center, for its part, can process 1500 tons of fish at the rate of 600,000 kilograms per day. It also has four cold chambers.

It should be noted that during the inauguration of the Fighting Angola production unit in Tombua, Minister of Fisheries Emilio Guerra gave a brief speech in which he spoke of the starvation being experienced in the Third World countries. He termed the situation worrisome, above all in those countries affected by drought and floods as well as other natural catastrophes. The current measures adopted by the international community to alleviate this situation, the minister said, fall far short of resolving it in some cases, mainly in Angola, where matters are still further aggravated by the efforts of the imperialists to destroy stability through racist South Africa.

Despite this, he stressed, the MPLA-Labor Party regards food as a right gained by each citizen with the country's acquisition of its independence, such that every effort will be made to resolve the serious food shortage problem.

#### Internationalist Mission Ends

A contingent of 22 Cuban internationalists who taught in the schools on the second and third primary educational levels in the city of Namibe for 2 years were presented with medals and diplomas in a ceremony held last Saturday. It was sponsored by the Provincial Party Committee to celebrate the completion of their internationalist mission.

During the ceremony, at which the deputy coordinator of the provincial party committee, Alcidio Ferreira da Silva, presided, material incentives were also presented to the 10 best teachers for their outstanding work.

In his address, Alcidio Ferreira da Silva stressed the Cuban internationalist aid provided to Angola in various sectors, such as education and health, and he congratulated the 22 members of the Frank Pais contingent, who carried out their mission despite all of the difficulties and deprivation, on the work done.

On this occasion, the deputy coordinator of the Namibe Provincial Committee added that the aid provided by these young people and other internationalists parallels our efforts to establish the material and technical foundations for socialism.

#### COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH GDR TO BENEFIT UIJE AGRICULTURE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] Uije--A protocol for cooperation in the agricultural, trade, transportation, energy and industry and construction sectors was signed in this city recently by Uije Provincial Commissioner Zeferino Estevao Juliana and Johannes Schoche, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Angola from the GDR.

Ambassador Johannes Schoches, who spent 2 days in the city of Uije for the purpose of strengthening the relations of friendship existing between the two parties, governments and peoples, paid a visit to the farm cooperative in Tange, Manauto 50, the Bangola do Norte refrigerants plant, and the National Farm Mechanization Enterprise (ENAMA) center located in the municipality of Negage.

At the sites of economic interest he visited, the ambassador exchanged impressions with the managers and workers and learned about the operations and the progress in the production processes at these centers.

According to the protocol signed, the GDR will provide agricultural equipment, including tractors, cultivators, sowing machines, threshers and transport vehicles to equip the Farm Development Stations (EDA).

Also in this sector, the GDR will send specialists and equipment for hog breeding and poultry raising, and will take charge of the survey being made by the SOTECMA with a view to the recovery of coffee bean hulls, sending machinery and replacement parts for the purpose.

In the transportation sector, the GDR will supply the province with some IFA W-50 trucks, including trailers and tank trucks, for hauling wood, water and fuels, as well as refrigerator trucks.

It will also provide workshop units with technical aid in accordance with the contract signed between the ENAMA and Fortschritt.

As to the trade sector, these friendly countries will study the means of supplying workshops to provide repairs for domestic and office appliances and kitchen, hotel and restaurant equipment, and the GDR will also send a

specialist to draft a list of offers, including provision of a service products machine capable of producing 30 kilograms per hour. Two 500-kilowatt generators and an equal number for domestic use will be supplied in the energy sector.

In the field of construction, according to the protocol signed by the two parties, the GDR will send documentation to the province for the construction of prefabricated housing units, and will also provide a ceramics plant. In this connection, the Uije provincial commissioner is to send raw material samples to the GDR by the end of this month. With a view to supplying the city of Uije with drinking water, that friendly country will send two 250-kilowatt diesel generators. A complex of plans for the construction of a beer factory and a wine factory will be drafted in connection with a project to increase the water supply system.

For the industrial sector, the GDR has submitted an informative offer for supplying a beer factory with a capacity of 50,000 hectoliters per year, and it will send experts to complete the details and plan market control. The GDR is making another informative offer which would provide for expansion of the activities of the Nova Alliance bakery, with a view to the production of cakes and cookies, as well as a water-cooling station.

In connection with wine production, the Cifal in that country will make available one steam boiler per year with a capacity of [illegible] thousand hectoliters per year. It will also supply a three-color offset printing press with a four-pair format for printing bound periodicals.

On the other hand, the provincial commissariat is prepared to supply the GDR with commercial coffee as a counterpart, and a survey will be made by the export-import enterprise of the commissariat, with the help of the trade policy department of the embassy of the GDR in Angola in organizing that enterprise.

At a banquet given for the ambassador by the provincial commissioner, moreover, that GDR diplomat termed the relations existing between the two countries "excellent." On this occasion, he stressed the importance of and the need for both parties to implement the protocol which has just been signed, which can contribute to the socioeconomic development of the province. He then went on to thank the party and the local government, as well as the people, for the welcome accorded him.

Provincial Commissioner Zeferino Estevao, in turn, expressed his satisfaction with this gesture of friendship on the part of the two peoples, adding that "the socialist countries are our natural allies in the building of socialism in Angola."

Zeferino Estevao termed the signing of the cooperation protocol "an important step," for the province of Uije in particular, and for the country in general.

He also praised the effort put forth by the FDJ stationed in the province to strengthen the friendship with the party youth, and in the tasks of national reconstruction.

#### **BRIEFS**

DUTCH DONATION--The People's Republic of Angola will be the recipient of a gift of 510 tons of wheat flour as a contribution to a program in support of the homeless in Waco-Kungo in the province of Kwanza-Sul, the ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY] has learned from the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs. This donation will be delivered soon by War on Want, a nongovernmental organization in The Netherlands. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 3] 5157

MILITARY PARTY UNITS--Saurimo--The first regional seminar on the development of the party in the Tenth Political-Military Region, which has been in progress in this city, with the acting coordinator of the DORGAN [Angolan Department of National Reconstruction], Antonio Julio Icola, presiding, ended its sessions recently. "Let us strengthen the party structures in the armed forces to strengthen the combat capacity of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola]" was the theme of this seminar. The heads of the political sections of the brigades and territorial and independent battalions and party militants participated in the meeting, which focused on the study of the recommendations of the head of the National Political Office of the FAPLA, and the methodology used in the second campaign for party growth in the armed forces. Antonio Julio Icola, speaking at the closing session, said that the role of the party must be strengthened through the recruiting of new militants and the advancement of members of the party youth to party membership. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 12 Jun 85 p 3] 5157

BPV, CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES IN CHIBIA--Lubango--About 64 Popular Vigilance Brigades (BPV's) with more than 3,000 brigade members organized under 10 leadership committees have already been formed at the Chibia municipality level. They are expected to extend to all the villages and towns within the next few months. The municipal coordinator of the BPV in Chibia, who made that statement to our newspaper, said also that since their establishment the BPV's have carried outpositive work such as voluntary work campaigns to beautify the municipal headquarters and reporting many cases of antisocial individuals, collaborating with the defense and security organs for that purpose. He added that the results of raising the people's awareness to join those organizations continue to be encouraging. Construction of the irrigation dam which on completion will make it possible to increase agricultural production in the municipality continues at a very slow pace because of the lack of construction materials such as cement, concretereinforcing iron rod, and others. Of a total area of 6,000 cubic meters, only about 2,272 cubic meters have been erected, estimated at more than 3 million kwanzas. The municipal commissar of Chibia has made an effort to overcome those difficulties, considering the importance of that project to the social and economic life of the municipality. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Jun 85 p 12] 8711

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

#### BRIEFS

LOAN FOR IMPROVING AIRPORT—A loan agreement signed early June between the Central African Republic and the OPEC Fund for International Development will provide that country with 2m US dollars to help finance the Bangui M'poko international airport rehabilitation project. Others contributing to the project are the Saudi Fund for Development, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA), and the Central African Republic Government. The airport's rehabilitation is designed to improve the region's international connection by enabling large aircraft to land there. The airport's runways, built for the low volume of small carriers and in very poor condtion, will be upgraded and resurfaced to meet international standards. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Aug 85 p 21]

CSO: 3400/1011

ETHIOPIA

#### WPE PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS MEET

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 18 Aug 85 pp 1, 5

[Text] The annual general meeting of WPE primary organizations got under way here yesterday for the first time since the establishment of the party.

The meeting, to last until Aug. 31st., was organised at the Ground Forces headquarters, the Naval headquarters, the Southern Sector Command Political Department, and the Defence Construction and Armed Forces Hospital.

Present on the occasion were Comrade Major General Haile-Ghiorgis Habre-Mariam, member of the CC of the WPE and Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, at the Armed forces headquarters, Comrade Major-General Mulatu Negash, member of the CC of the WPE at the Southern Sector Command, at the Naval headquarters, Comrade Maj.-Gen. Syoum Makonnen, member of the CC of the WPE and Head of the Military Commissariat in the Ministry of Interior with the rank of Vice Minister, and at the Armed Forces Hospital, Comrade Col. Yewondewossen Seifu, Head of the Political Department in the Ministry of Defence, on behalf of higher bodies.

The annual general meeting took off with the approval of the day's agenda and the list of members of the presidium as presented by first secretaries of WPE primary organizations.

Reports were later submitted on social, political and economic as well as organizational activities on which democratic exchanges of views were made.

Comrade Maj. Gen. Haile-Ghiorgis pointed out that several revolutionary activities were undertaken following the establishment of the party which has laid a strong foundation for ideologically activating government and mass organizations and building a socialist society and in bringing together vanguard revolutionaries. He noted the significance of the measures taken by the politburo of the CC of the WPE in tackling the drought situation.

Comrade Maj. Gen. Haile=Ghiorgis stressed the need for intensifying the struggle for attaining future party objectives.

Comrade Maj. Gen. Mulatu Negash said addressing the meeting at the Naval headquarters that beyond the legitimate pride felt in ensuring the inviolability of the nation's frontiers, victory was assured in the struggle ahead in the realm of the ideological and organizational equipping of the Armed Forces. He said that the meeting will bolster party leadership.

Noting that the Navy has the dual task of defending the country's territorial waters and ensuring the peace of the region, Comrade Maj. Gen. Mulatu pointed out that it is the task of this defence arm to produce socialist patriots equipped with modern combat techniques and party ideology.

Comrade Maj. Gen. Mulatu stated that the primary WPE organization of the Navy shoulders great responsibility in implementing party policies, adding that the priority task ahead is the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

Comrade Maj. Gen. Syoum Makonnen urged the participants of the meeting at the southern Sector Command Political Department to ably and effectively discharge their duties, adding that a great deal was expected of the Armed Forces in building socialism and the strengthening of the revolution. The decisiveness of strengthening the ideological consciousness of the Armed Forces was emphasised.

Comrade Yewondewossen Seifu said at the gathering at the Armed Forces Hospital that the efforts made to strengthen communist discipline and ideological consciousness and ensure democratic work procedure within hospital workers and management was admirable. He noted that the achievements made in the basic health programme were worthy of emulation.

Meeting participants expressed in resolution passed later readiness to exert maximum effort in implementing party decisions and to contribute towards the establishment of the People's gramme. Also reaffirmed was the preparedness to pay every sacrifice towards the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the execution of the Ten-Year Perspective Plan as well as the strengthening of the programme of the National Military Service and the Territorial militia.

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ETHIOPIA

#### ETCA CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS DETAILED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] The Ethiopian Transport Corporation Authority has completed 85 per cent work programme of the current Ethiopian year within nine months, according to ETCA's publication, Zena Construction.

According to the publication ETCA completed the construction of 510.77 Km of road and bridges through its own construction brigades as well as contractors within the afforementioned months. This had to cost the Authority over 45 million birr, it added. Out of this 483.58 Km of road was constructed with 40.691 million birr by the construction brigade of the Authority.

There are also the Ambo-Nekemte and Shashemene-Sodo asphalt road projects. However, after the first half of the year the manpower and equipment of the project were diverted to the rehabilitation areas and dam sites. Part of the Ambo-Nekemte brigade was able to complete 16.70 Km of road in the third quarter of the year, it stated. This brings the construction of asphalt road to 28 Km and the completion of the plan to 175 per cent.

The brigade of Ambo-Nekemte project has also constructed 22.4 Km of road with 3.699 million birr, it added. In addition, 5.6 Km of asphalt road was constructed by the brigade of the Shashemene-Sodo project with 1.554 million birr, bringing total coverage of the plan to 93 per cent, it added.

The report continued that the Authority has also the project of consolidating asphalt roads which include the Addis Ababa-Awash and the Addis Ababa-Gedo project. The Awash-Mille project is however different as it consists of the construction of shoulder blading and drainage ditch. The Awash-Mille project has cost 9.302 Million birr, it stated.

Similarly, the brigade of the authority also constructed 14.73 km feeder roads with 6.855 m. birr, which include the Gore-Gambela-Jikawo, Wacha-Majida and Tepi-Gore project, the publication added. The Authority has also completed 74 per cent of construction of the Gobe-Almehal, Gode-Kelafo and Abobo-Alwaro projects.

With regard to rural roads the Authority has constructed 254.4 km of such roads with 12.602 m. birr, covering 91 per cent of the plan, it stated.

In addition, the Authority has constructed various roads and bridges under the programmes of RRC and the Ministry of Agriculture. The construction of bridges of Give Awash and Jejebe rivers were also completed with 2,349 m. birr. With regard to the role played by the Authority in the rehabilitation areas the report stated that, the rehabilitation centres of Assossa, Aman, Makele, Inkede, Aknajian, Gilu, Metema, Shekedi, Pawi and Bizenda as well as various dams and road in these centres are among the major accomplishments of the Authority, the release concluded.

CSO: 3400/1034

ETHIOPIA

MOLASSES FEEDING PROJECT TERMED 'SUCCESSFUL'

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 18 Aug 85 pp 1, 5

[Text] A molasses-urea cattle feeding project launched by the Ministry of Agriculture, has turned out successful, benefitting 30,000 animals threatened by drought in Wollo, Harrarghe and Sidamo administrative regions.

This was reported in a newsletter recently released by the International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA). The molasses was provided by the Ethiopian Sugar Corporation's factory at Wonji. According to the newsletter, ten tanker loads of the molasses was given to peasants association each week. The associations had organized storage and distribution system of their own.

The newsletter further disclosed that another 20,000 cattle and sheep belonging to state farms were also introduced to molasses-urea mixture feeding. The move was designed as a stop-gap measure to discourage the export of feed concentrates altogether in order to alleviate domestic shortages, it was pointed out.

The newsletter quoted Mr. Reg Present, an ILCA consultant, as saying this is only one way in which Ethiopia could make better use of animal feed resources produced locally. Other feeds intended for possible investigation are poultry litter and excreta, sugar tops, wheat offals and legume trees.

The newsletter revealed that ILCA scientists involved in the Ethiopian Rangelands programme in Sidamo region are trying to measure the effects of molasses-urea feeding on cattle condition, morality and conception rates.

The ILCA newsletter also highlighted another topic dedicated to livestock and crop production in the Ethiopian highlands. It said throughout the central highlands of the country land use is dominated by rain-fed agriculture. The products include cereals, pulses and livestock. It added that livestock provide meat and milk and equally play a key role in supporting the cropping system.

Livestock and their products are potential sources of income to peasants, which will be used for buying crop in-puts. The newsletter said animals supply the drought power for crop production and transport and manure which could be used for fuel and fertilizer. Livestock are also considered a major source of investment to the farming population.

The ILCA report is based on a study carried out in the districts of Baso and Werana around Debre Berhan, situated 120 kilometres northeast of Addis Ababa. On the basis of this study, the more cattle a peasant owns he will have more drought power, allowing him to cultivate more land. The extra land cultivated will in turn yield more by-products, such as straws that serve as a main source of animal feed.

The report noted that the study has confirmed that in the Ethiopian highlands cattle are mainly used to provide draught power. It said in the Debre Berhan area the average in-put of animal power for crop-related work was about 1,000 hours per farm per year, of which 880 hours is supplied by oxen, 40 by other cattle and 80 by donkeys and other animals of burden.

The results of the study show that livestock production enhances crop production rather than compete with it. It said agricultural development programmes in Africa have put much emphasis on crop rather than improving the livestock sector as means of attaining increased food production.

The ILCA report stresses that improvements in the livestock sector will further increase peasants' cash earnings. It noted that in the central Ethiopian highlands, livestock development will prove an efficient vehicle in efforts to overcome the food problem.

cso: 3400/1034

ETHIOPIA

#### BRIEFS

IMPROVED HEALTH SERVICES -- Serto Ader, Organ of the Central Committee of the WPE yesterday noted the measures taken by the Revolutionary Government to look after the health of the masses by increasing the budget for health services. The paper said that the new budget is 247 per cent greater than the budget allocated for health services by the feudo-bourgeois regime. It added that the new 176 million birr budget has achieved fruitful results. The organ of the CC of the WPE under the title "our health should be kept with our joint effort" added that with the measures taken to expend health services both in rural and urban centres, the number of clinics, health centres, and hospitals have increased to about 195 to 200 per cent. Although efforts are being made to produce more health professionals, greater efforts must be made to control communicable diseases, said the paper. The organ pointed out that 75 per cent of health problems are caused by lack of environmental health care and unbalanced diet and urged that sanitary measures to be taken to eradicate the root causes of communicable diseases. Serto Ader, emphasized that mass organizations here and elsewhere in the country must play an active role in giving instructions to owners of hotel, inns, grocery and tea rooms to ensure sanitation to control the spread of communicable diseases. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 2 Aug 85 p 1]

RADIO MARKS ANNIVERSARY—The National Service of Revolutionary Ethiopia Radio Saturday marked the third anniversary of the launching of a youth programme. Thirteen young persons who made contributions through their participation in the programme were awarded prizes and certificates at a ceremony held in the assembly hall of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Radio Department. Some 700 youngsters from Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Associations in Addis Ababa and the regions took part in competitions organized by the youth programme. The winners of the competition were awarded prizes by Comrade Dehne Retta, Head of the Finance and Administration Department of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance, and Comrade Moges Tafesse, Head of Revolutionary Ethiopia Radio Department. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 30 Jul 85 p 3]

MILITIAMEN GRADUATE—Harar OENA)—Certificates and prizes were presented here over the week-end to members of a people's militia drawn from the 19 kebeles here on completion of a nine-month course in military training and political orientation. Certificates and prizes were presented to the militiamen by Comrade Col. Gebre-Meskel Azbitie, member of the CC of the WPE and Military Commissar of Hararghe region, who urged them to discharge ably the

responsibility entrusted to them. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 30 Jul 85 p 1]

AFFORESTATION CAMPAIGN--According to a press release by the Public Relations Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, 34 million tree seedlings are to be planted in the north-eastern zone of the country through work campaigns and Food for Work Programme. The press release said that 20 million seedlings will be planted in areas demarcated as government forestry development projects within the zone, five million in forestry areas enclosed by mass organizations. one million in areas demarcated by the Fuel Wood Project and eight million in areas specified as government and mass organizations' holdings. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 25 Jul 85 p 6] A total of 9,874,500 tree-seedlings were planted on 3,492 hectares in the eight provinces of Tigrai region through the food for work programme. In addition, three million tree-seedlings are being planted after they were distributed to individuals, and government departments and mass organizations, while two million more have been assigned to forestry associations in the same region. Over 3,492 hectares of mountaineous areas were also terraced for afforestation. In Wollo region, 13,235 seedlings of the eucalyptus variety were planted by members of Revolutionary Police at Korke locality, Ambassel province. In another development, workers of the Gondar Health College planted over 35,000 tree-seedlings within the college campus. A similar tree-seedlings plantation campaign was carried out in Goba town, Bale region, recently. Efforts to step up the national afforestation campaign are continuing in the capital. Accordingly upwards of 16,600 various kinds of tree seedlings were planted through a work campaign carried out by the residents of kebele 35 in Higher 8 Urban Dwellers' Association and six other kebeles in higher 22 UDA. Taking part in the campaign were members of the WPE committees of the two higher UDAs and Executive Committee members of the kabeles. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 30 Jul 85 p 4]

PRODUCERS' COOPERATIVE--Dessie (ENA)—The Tis Abalima peasants' producers cooperative in Worehimenu province, Wollo region, has netted an income of 142,502 birr from the sale of its agricultural produce in the last crop year. This was disclosed by Comrade Yimer Kebede, chairman of the co-operative in an interview he gave to reporters concerning the activities of the 54-member organisation. The producers' co-operative, which is a legally recognised organisation, sold oranges for a total of 81,047 birr and coffee for 31,000 birr which it cultivated on 10 hectares of land. Some 30 per cent of the income from the sale of horticultural products was channelled to the running of the organisation while the remaining 70 per cent was entirely distributed to the members. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Aug 85 p 1]

REVOLUTIONARY SQUAD TRAINING--Sixty revolutionary squad members have received certificates and various special prizes upon completion of a six-month ideological and military training. The trainees, drawn from various government agencies and mass organizations as well as private enterprises within the Repi Gulele Peasants' Association, west of the capital, received the certificates from Comrade Etana Gerbi, First Secretary of the WPE Committee of Alem Genna district, Shoa region, Comrade Abera Gezahegne, Head of Organizational Affairs of the WPE Committee of Alem Genna district, and Comrade Solomon Jemaneh, Head of

Ideological Affairs of the WPE Committee of Alem Genna district. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 6 Aug 85 p 6]

MILITARY MEMBERS GRADUATE--Goba (ENA) -- Four hundred and seventy-six militia members were graduated here recently after completing a three-month military and ideological training course. Certificates to the graduating batch and prizes to instructors were handed over by Comrade Gezahegn Workie, member of the CC of the WPE and First Secretary of the Bale region WPE Committee. Comrade Gezahegn noted the attention given to the training of the people's militia in order to safeguard the nation's unity and territorial integrity as well as the popular revolution. He recalled the role of the territorial militia in crushing Somali invaders by fighting alongside the revolutionary army. The establishment of the training centre will enhance the combat potential of the men-in-uniform in the region. Comrade Gezahegn noted. A representative of the graduates expressed the readiness and commitment of his colleagues to pay every sacrifice to defend the Motherland and to participate in construction activities. Present on the occasion were alternate members of the CC of the WPE, Comrade Godana Tuni, Chief Administrator of the region, regional and provincial WPE Committee members as well as government and mass organization representatives. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 10 Aug 85 p 1]

EDUCATIONAL RADIO PROGRAMS -- A two-week course organised for producers of educational radio programmes from Shoa, Hararghe and Tigrai regions opened here yesterday at the assembly hall of the Educational Mass Media Centre. The course attended by 31 participants representing local radio educational stations under the Educational Mass Media Centre was opened by Comrade Bililigne Mandefro, member of the CC of the WPE and Minister of Education. The course is intended to impart to the participants vital knowledge on production techniques and to enable them to better understand the operation of mass media facilities. In his opening statement, Comrade Bililigne said that mass media services play an important role in countries like Ethiopia where the majority of the people live in rural areas. He reminded the participants to exert all possible effort so that local educational radio stations would have the necessary impact on economic, social and political activities and on cultural development. Earlier, Comrade Abebe Berhanu, Acting Head of the Educational Mass Media Centre, and Comrade Asres Kebede, Head of the Radio Section, emphasised in their statements that the Centre's training programme was being strengthened so that the centre would accomplish effectively the responsibilities entrusted to it. An expert assigned by the British Council is taking part in the current training programme. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 24 Jul 85 p 1]

JAPANESE LOAN-The government of Japan has agreed to provide 37 million birr in aid and loan to support the economic development of Ethiopia from 1985 to 1986, according to Comrade Goshu Wolde, member of the Central Committee of the WPE and Minister of Foreign Affairs, who returned here yesterday after a working visit to Japan. Comrade Goshu, who led a delegation of technical and economic experts, said that the Japanese government has agreed to give in aid 17.5 million birr and 20 million birr in loan. The bulk of the money will be used to purchase agricultural implements to boost the agricultural sector of the economy, he added. He said that he had he'd talks and reached agreement

with Japanese officials on technical aid, especially in the technological field, to strengthen the agricultural sector of the economy. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Aug 85 p 1]

MILITIA TRAINEES GRADUATED—Habar (ENA)—Over 470 militia trainees drawn from peasants associations in Wobera province of Hararghe region were graduated here earlier in the week on completion of a four-month military and ideological training course. The training was conducted by the regional military commissariat in cooperation with the police and peasant association revolutionary squads. Certificates were handed over by Commade Mulugeta Debebe, First Secretary of the WPE Committee of Wobera province, and Commade Tamiru Debebe, the provincial administrator. Commade Mulugeta assured the 474 graduates of the support and encouragement of the WPE and the Revolutionary Government in the discharge of the dduty. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 18 Aug 85 p 6]

DROUGHT-AFFECTED RELOCATED--Makele (ENA) --A total of 1,055 drought affected compatriots who registered voluntarily from the different provinces of Tigzai region to be rehabilitated in more fertile areas of the country were mobilized Tuesday from temporary relief shelters in the outskirts of this regional capital. The compatriots were seen off on departure by Comrade Mulugeta Hagos, member of the CC of the WPE and First Secretary of the WPE Committee of Tigrai region, Comrade Major General Kefelegne Yibza, member of the CC of the WPE and overall head of the regional military command and the regional administration, members of the regional and Enderta province WPE committees and representatives of government departments and mass organisations. The compatriots who voluntarily left to be rehabilitated in more fertile areas are availing themselves of the programme charted by the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPE and the Revolutionary Government in implementing the second phase of the rehabilitation programme. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIA HERALD in English 15 Aug 85 p 1]

TREE PLANTING--A total of 36,000 tree-seedlings of the eucalyptus and Tid variety were planted Sunday by employees of the Ministry of Agriculture in the locality of the Furi Gara-Bolo Peasants' Association in Alem-Gena district, Menagesha province. The afforestation campaign, in which 1,200 employees of the Ministry took part, was conducted in the presence of Comrade Fassika Sidelil, Alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the WPE, Comrade Tekola Dejene, member of the CC of the WPE and Minister of Agriculture, and other party and government officials, who personally participated in the campaign. Meanwhile over 1.3 million tree-seedlings were planted recently through a work campaign launched by the inhabitants of Jarso district, Harar Zuria province, Hararghe region. Similarly, a total of 113,000 various kinds of tree-seedlings have been planted in Guro district of Chebo-Guraghe province, Shoa region. Meanwhile peasants and youth members in Ginde-Beret and Dendi districts, in Jibat-Mecha province, Shoa region, last week planted about 1,5 million different kinds of tree-seedlings. Similarly, the peasants of the district built 18 wooden bridges in joint work campaigns to enhance development in their locality. [Excerpts] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 13 Aug 85 pp 1, 3]

HARARGHE TREE PLANTINGS—Harar/Dessie (ENA)—Over 12 million tree seedlings have been planted in Hararghe region during the past two months, according to the area agricultural development office. About 34 million young plants, being grown at over 92 nurseries, are to be planted during this rainy season, it was reported. In addition the Harar City Council planted 40,000 seelings in the town while students and teachers of 22 schools in Habro province have planted over 52,000 tree seedlings. Taking part in the afforestation campaign were school executive committee members, members of REYA and REWA chapters of the area and other comrades. Similarly, over four million tree seelings were planted over 1,645 hectares of land in Kalu province of Wollo region. According to the provincial agricultural development office upwards 4,112,000 tree seedlings have been so far planted through the active participation of the people of the province. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Aug 85 p 2]

RELOCATIONS TO YIRGA CHEFE--Awassa (ENA)--2,526 Compatriots facing drought problem and land scarcity in Wolaita province of Sidamo region were recently moved to Yirga Chefe district of Gideo province. Prior to being moved to the new shelters they were greeted at a public gathering at the Dilla Revolution Square, Comrade Girma Habte-Gabriel, member of the CC of the WPE and First Secretary of WPE Committee of Sidamo noted that the people of Gideo had not only raised money but also provided essential facilities to help drought victims being moved to the area from Wolaita province. Following their arrival at the new rehabilitation site, Comrade Girma Habte-Gabriel, accompanied by party and government officials and mass organization representatives, inspected the houses at the shelter camps, grain storage clinic, school and household utensils. It is understood that 750 hectares of land have been set aside for farming, 500 hectares for grazing and 100 hectares for afforestation. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Aug 85 p 1]

FOREIGN TRADE REVIEW—The foreign trade situation of Revolutionary Ethiopia in 1984-85 left much to be desired owing to the shortage of agricultural products for sale in the world market and the fluctuation of international prices, all of which contributed to the reduction of foreign exchange earnings. This was revealed by Comrade Wolle Chekol, member of the CC of the WPE and Minister of Foreign Trade, while opening a half-day seminar yesterday at the Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce. The seminar was convened to review the foreign trade situation in 1984/85 and to devise strategies in the foreign trade sector for the coming year. Comrade Wolle said that much attention had been devoted to foreign trade in 1984/85 because conditions did not prove conducive to the attainment of the expected foreign exchange earnings. Comrade Wolle stressed the impact of the drought situation and the damage it inflicted on human lives, cattle resources and agricultural production as well as the influence of the international economic crisis on the country's foreign trade. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 18 Aug 85 p 1]

#### ISRAELI FIRM UNDER INVESTIGATION FOR FRAUDULENT DEALINGS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 22 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Tom Dorkenoo]

[Text]

DIZENGOFF Ghana Limited, an Israeli firm in the North Industrial Area of Accra, has defrauded the state in the sum of \$\mathcal{C}\$3.9 million (70,088.43 dollars).

A subsidiary company of Dizengoff, Motorola Ghana Limited also undervalued invoices resulting in the loss, to Ghana, of thousands of cedis in customs duty.

Investigations disclosed that Dizengoff, which sells AMC Jeeps, applied for and got ¢5.7 million (100,000 dollars) import licence for spare parts, under the 1983 Import Programme.

But on February 28, this year, the company brought in parts worth only \$\mathcal{C}\$1,704,959.49 (29,911.57 dollars), thus making it impossible for over 200 of the

jeeps in the country to be rehabilitated.

My investigations disclosed that when the parts arrived, the Israeli directors of the company directed a Ghanaian employee of the company to send them to a particular automobile company in Accra.

The employee refused Institutions whose vehicles were to benefit from the spare part imports included the Police Fonce, Prisons and the Mi-

nistries.

My investigations on the under-invoicing by Motorola Ghana Limited show that the company brought in equipment worth £234,524.79 (4,114.47 dollars) but presented invoices worth only £21,198.94 (375.42 dollars) to Customs for tax assessment.

#### BRITISH EQUIPMENT FOR ARMED FORCES ARRIVES

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 23 Aug 85 p 8

[Article by Nelson E. Yibowei]

[Text]

THE British High Commissioner, Mr Kevin Burns, yesterday presented a consignment of military training equipment valued at 100,000 Pounds Sterling(about ¢7.9 million) to the Ghana Armed Forces

(G.A.F.) at a ceremony

The equipment were received by Brigadier W. M. Mensa-Wood, Comman dant of the Ghana Military Academy and Training School (MATS).

Among the items presented were audio visual hardware and materials,

video training films and tapes, equipment for the direct support of training exercises including prismatic compasses adventure training equipment including canoes, climbing and sailing equipment and other miscellaneous items such as typewriters. Mr Burns expressed the

hope that the equipment would be used for training purposes within the Ghana Armed Forces Staff College; the Military Academy and Training School, Ghana Military Academy and the School of Infantry.

Mr Burns said it is the second of such contributions provided under Unit-ed Kingdom Military Training and Assistant Scheme (UKMTAS). The first donation was made in

1982 also at a cost of 100,000 Pounds Sterling.

The High Commissioner disclosed that the presen-tation was in response to a request from the Ghana Armed Forces and said he was particularly glad that the British Government had been able to meet the Ghana Government's request by providing a package of equipment which is relevant to the needs of the Armed Forces.

He said the materials are intended to serve as an extension of the existing training programme under which British infantry officers work alongside their Ghanaian counterparts at the four training institutions.

Brigadier Mensa-Wood, receiving the equipment, thanked the High Commissioner for the massive support the British Government is offering Ghana.

He stressed particularly on the 51 million Pounds Sterling debt Ghana owed the British government which has been written off on humanitarian grounds.

Among those present at the ceremon, was the Force Commander, Major-General Arnold Quainoc.

#### BRAZILIAN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION UNDER STUDY

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 17 Aug 85 p 8

[Article by Mavis Quaicoe]

[Text]

GHANA and Brazil can co-operate particularly in the field of agriculture due to the similarity between the Ghanaian soil and that of Santa Catarina, a state in Brazil.

This observation was made by Mrs Maria Hose de Souza, President of the Centre for Afro-Brazilian Commercial and Cultural Integration (CICCAB), when she called on Dr. I. K. Adjei-Maafo, Secretary for Agriculture in his office in Accra vesterday.

in Accra yesterday.

Mrs de Souza said it has
therefore been agreed that
a report on all agricultural
projects in the various regions in the country should
be prepared for study by
the Brazilian Government
to enable the arrival of a
Brazilian technical team in
Ghana, in November this

The President of CIC-CAB expressed the hope that the two countries would be able to co-operate in the cultural, economic and technical fields.

In his reply, Dr. Adjei-Maafo said that during his visit to Brazil in March this year, the two nations identified various areas of co-operation including the poultry industry, market-

ing systems and the production of bio-gas.

With the poultry industry, he said the establishment of a Soya Bean Plant in Ghana was discussed and that since then, a delegation from Brazil had undertaken studies in the country to find out areas where Soya beans could be produced.

He said they also discussed the possibility of the establishment of a fertiliser plant in the country because most fertiliser imported into the country is not good for the Ghanaian soil.

The Agriculture Secretary said that with the cooperation between the two countries in the production of bio-gas, Ghanaians would be given the opportunity to compare the usefulness of organic fertiliser with that of chemical fertiliser.

Dr Adjei-Maafo expressed the nation's gratitude to the Brazilian Government for offering scholarships to Ghanaians to train in bio-gas technique.

BOTCHWAY CALLS FOR BETTER FOREIGN INVESTMENT PLANNING

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Aug 85 p 1, 5

[Article by Faustina Ashirifie and Afusatu Sanda]

[Text]

DR Kwesi Botchwey, Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, has asked African countries to ensure that they draw up national programmes with clearly defined priorities to enable foreign investments to play their envisaged role in their national development programmes.

He noted that so long as national priorities are clear, and genuine national consent are embodied in a clearly formulated regime of legalism, the way is clear for foreign investments.

Dr Botchwey was opening a ten-day international conference on "Foreign investment and its impact on African countries" in Accra yesterday.

The seminar which is being attended by delegates from 35 African countries is being organised by the African Centre for Monetary Studies (ACMS) in collaboration with the Bank of Ghana.

Not surprisingly, the Secretary noted, the role of foreign investments in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have stirred the most passionate controversy and debates among academicians, politicians, economists and professionals.

As a result of this, genuine and legitimate concerns that must be addressed by the sovereign borrower and the investor are coloured by ideological prejudices.

The Finance Secretary stressed that to be able to achieve the desired results with foreign investments, African countries should develop the expertise of their technicians especially where they concern strategic resources in the negotiation of investment-agreements.

Where these skills are not available in the sovereign borrowing country, Dr Botchwey told the delegates that the national interest should not be shirked by an insistent on negotiating with one's nationals "even if they are incompetent, instead of engaging the services of

skilled negotiators from outside."

It is even more important, he stressed that all the key agencies concerned with the monitoring of investment programmes in our countries should be adequately briefed or involved in the negotiations to ensure maximum benefits

This, he explained, would enable them to ensure that not only the national interest is served but also the legitimate concerns of investors are being addressed.

Dr Botchwey further emphasised the importance of conducive political climate in foreign investment but this, he added, does not mean the setting up of the so-called multiparty democracies.

This climate is created when the borrower raises the level of political consciousness of all cadres involved in dealing with investors to ensure that they are not unduly harassed,

he pointed out.

Dr Botchwey referred to various arguments put for and against foreign investments, and said the rhetorics and polemics that characterised these debates should be done away with because they tend to bury the real issues.

African countries should instead address themselves to what national programmes foreign investment should support and not whether to take foreign capital or not, he argued.

They must make the ef-

fort to mobilise private capital flow to serve as a complement to foreign investments, he advised, and warned that this must not be seen as a substitute to local resource mobilisation.

Dr Botchwey further urged the delegates to endeavour to address themselves to these crucial issues and to come out with general guidelines that would provide the basis for action.

BANK GOVERNOR CALLS FOR TRADE PATTERN SHIFTS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 17 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Rosemary Ardayfio]

[Text]

MR J. S. Addo, Governor of the Bank of Ghana, has stressed the need for a change in the pattern of trade and payments in the West African subregion which remain as they were in the colonial days.

The Governor called for this change as the guest speaker at the celebration of WABA Day by the Ghana Chapter of the West African Bankers Association (WABA) in Accra on Thursday.

He noted that more than 20 years after independence, the bulk of trade and therefore payments in countries in the sub-region are mainly with Europe, the US and Japan.

Japan.
Mr Addo however said that the establishment of the West African Clearing House (WACH) has now facilitated to some extent payments within the sub-region.

He announced that the West African Chamber of Commerce is arranging to establish a subregional bank to be known as ECOBANK which will operate as a multinational commercial bank in most of the countries of the subregion.

region.
Mr Addo expressed happiness with the efforts of WABA towards integration and harmonisation of banking services in the sub-region

ing linguistic barriers.
The Chairman of Barclays Bank Ghana Limited, Professor Samuel Sev, who chaired the function, said the question of integration should be taken seriously so as to create a bigger market for the sub-

He called for the reestablishment of institutions like the West African Cocoa Research Institute to make for proper integration.

# TAWIAH URGES WORKER PARTICIPATION IN ENTERPRISE DECISION-MAKING

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 17 Aug 85 pp 1, 4

[Text]

A MEMBER of the PNDC, Mr Ebo Tawish, has reiterated that although the PNDC recognises the role of private enterprise, management should cease considering workers' legitimate interests as an interference.

Speaking at the inauguration of Akosombo Textiles Limited (ATL) CDR at Akosombo on Thursday, Mr Tawiah "arned the management to stop its divide and rule policy.

He said workers have the

He said workers have the right to determine what available resources should be utilised, the level of production and how the wealth that is created should be shared.

Mr Tawiah enumerated certain management practices at ATL and charged the management to plan a positive export programme for quality prints to earn the country some foreign exchange.

He asked unions and CDRs to interest themselves in the proper managemnent of enterprises both private and public in the national interest.

Mr Tawiah regretted that instead of ATL\_management importing spare parts to put the factory into full production, it

rather brought in cars.

He spoke of the habit of management harassing CDR and union executives at the factory and warned that "those who do not want to recognise the CDR or fail to co-operate with them violate the laws of the land.

Mr Tawiah described the ill-treatment of Ghanaians at work places by certain expatriate business executives as an abuse of the country's hospitality.

He hoped with the introduction of the investment code, investors would respect the laws as much as the rights of the workers and people.

The PNDC member asked Ghanaians to take active part in the work of CDRs and ensure the fulfilment of national goals.

He called on workers of ATL to rededicate themselves and close their ranks to increase productivity.

Mr Tawiah asked the new executive to be fearless, impartial, honest and humble and evolve a programme of activities to educate the workers. Such activities should however not be organised at the expense of production and of the economy, he manual

the economy, he warned.
The Eastern Regional Secretary, Mr Daniel Chane.
Agyekum, asked worders.
CDHs and managements to consider themselves as partners of development and contribute effectively towards promoting productivity.

He asked ATL to cultivate its own cotton instead of depending on imported raw materials.

Mr Dan Abodakpi, Special Assistant to the Political Counsellor for the Economic Development of the CDRs, warned managements in both private and public sectors which are frustrating the participation of workers in CDR activities that their subversive actions would not be tolerated.

He asked CDR executives to ensure that the principles of the revolutionary process are not sacrificed. The current CDR elections mark the beginning of a new struggle to create a just society for the country's emancipation, he said. — GNA.

cso: 3400/1044

JOINT CANADIAN MINING GROUP FORMED TO MANAGE FOUR MAJOR MINES

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Aug 85 pp 1,5

[Article by Wendy Asiama]

[Text]

A GHANA-CANADA Mining Group has been established to re-organise and take full management control of the Tarkwa, Prestea and Dunkwa mines.

This is under the terms of a 30 million dollar management agreement signed between the State Gold Mining Corporation (SGMC) and the Ghana-Canada Mining Group for the rehabilitation of the SGMC in Accra yesterday.

The World Bank, through its affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA) is providing the 30 million dollar soft loan for the purpose. The loan is repayable in 50 years with 10 years grace period.

Mr. F. Awua-Kyerematen, Chief Executive of SGMC signed for his Corporation while Mr Oscar Johnson, Chairman of the Ghana-Canada Group signed for his side.

Mr J. G. A. Renner, Secretary for Lands and Natural Resources and Mr Federick Livingstone, Canadian High Commissioner witnessed the signing ceremony.

A total of 84.5 million dollars is needed to revamp the SGMC.

Speaking at the ceremony, Mr Renner expressed the PNDC Government's appreciation to the Canadian Government for providing five million pounds sterling as a requirement laid down to qualify Ghana for the World Bank loan.

He, therefore, called on both the staff and management of the mining group to work hard. In his contribution, Mr

In his contribution, Mr Livingston said he sees the SGMC rehabilitation project as a priority area in which a lot of Ghanaians were interested in getting it off the ground.

He praised the PNDC Government for its efforts in bringing the project about and hoped the outcome of the rehabilitation project would be of mutual benefit to Ghana and Canada.

On his part, Mr S Choi, Resident Representative of the World Bank in Ghana said the rehabilitation of the SGMC is seen as an integral part of the export rehabilitation programme of the government under its economic recovery programme.

Mr Choi indicated that given the resources and the potential Ghana possesses, the programme would provide the needed impetus to the export of gold from the country.

He said a further \$12 million IDA facility had been provided to support the mining sector and hoped part of that money will go to support the SGMC rehabilitation

programme.

Mr Oscar Johnson, a spokesman of the Canada-Ghana Mining Group, said his group looks forward to a long successful and beneficial working relationship with the SGMC.

Mr Johnson noted that the group has assembled a competent team with considerable expertise and managerial abilities to help the SGMC in the rehabilitation programme.

In his remarks, Mr Awua-Kyerematen, Chief Executive of SGMC said it is a well known fact that since the control of the mine was acquired by SGMC in 1961, there has been a general decline of all phases of their operations.

He thanked the government especially for the rehabilitation programme drawn up for the mining industry, particularly the SGMC.

#### CORRECTION

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 21 Aug 85 p 9

/Text7

OUR front page report vesterday on the Ghana-Canada Mining Group which has been established to take full management control of the Tarkwa, Prestea and Dunkwa mines contained printer's devil.

The second paragraph of the story should have read: "This is under the terms of 13 million dollar management agreement signed between the State Gold Mining Corporation and the Ghana-Canada Mining Group for the rahabilitation of the SMGC"

Our report had quoted 30 million dollars.

However, our third paragraph which said the World Bank through its affiliate, the IDA is providing 30 million dollars soft loan for the purpose is correct. The loan is repayable in 50 years with a 10-year grace period.

**EDITOR** 

LIBERIA

#### DOE SAYS ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD WITHOUT INVITING OBSERVERS

# Monrovia FOOTPRINTS in English 15 Aug 85 p 12

#### [Text]

The forthcoming general elections will be held without inviting international observers, CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe, Head of State and President of the Interim National Assembly (INA), said yesterday.

He made this known in the parlours of the Executive Mansion where he spoke on a number of national issues during a press conference yesterday. The Head Of State's statement was in response to a reporter's question.

Recently a reequest was also made to the Special Elections Comission(SECOM) by four political parties that international observers should be invited for the forthcoming elections. The United People's Party (UP), Unity Party (UP), Liberia Action Party (LAP) and the banned Liberian People's Party (LPP), requested SECOM to invite representatives of interanational bodies to observe the elections as a means of lending internatioinal credibility to the results.

Specifically, the parties named the United Nations, the Economic Community for West African States, Amnesty International, the World Council of Churches and the International Press Institute, etc, which they (the parties) would wish to be represented to monitor the elections.

However Dr. Doe told the nation yesterday that

However. Dr. Doe told the nation yesterday that "we are not sending for anybody, and if anyone is coming, he will be coming at his own risk".

He pointed out that if representatives of these international bodies have the country at heart, "they must make contributions to SECOM" in order to facilitate the completion of the entire electoral process.

He stated that with Liberia being an independent country since 138 years ago, the country is "old enough" to make decisions pertaining to its internal affairs.

"And we know actually that Liberia was never colonized, and each time we talk about interference why should we now send for international observers?" the Head of State asked.

#### LIBERIA

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# BREAK IN SOVIET RELATIONS DOES NOT AFFECT TREATIES Monrovia THE SUN in English 17/18 Aug 85 pp 1, 10 [Article by Mlanju Reeves]

[Text]	Zaire represent Liberia's interest	in th		
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		while Poland will		
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	_	Second Secretary		
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	Macauley W	iten.		

Informed sources said the severance diplomatic relations between Liberia and the Soviet Union which came last month, does not abbrogate previous Soviet-Liberian treaties. These appear to include the operating of flights the by Soviet Aeroflot Airlines and the agreement to wire news dispatches from the Soviet News Agency TASS the Liberia News Agency LINA which are all in full swing. Liberia's decision to sever diplomatic ties with the USSR came shortly

after 14 students were arrested while allegedly leaving the Soviet Embassy at intervals. The students, currently detained, were subsequently accused of passing on classified information to now-closed Soviet Embassy, detailing military installations the country. Since then, a board of inquiry which was set up to probe the matter announced that it has uncovered circumstantial evidence that details the strength of military

installations throughout the country. Last week, Defense Minister Gray D. Allison announced at a press conference that one of the arrested students, Joe Wylie, has escaped from detention. Defense Minister also charged that Wylie had escaped by means guerilla training he received in Socialist Ethiopia under the guise of a literacy training program in 1981.

#### LIBERIA

#### SEVERAL BID FOR NDPL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

### Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 23 Aug 85 pp 1, 6

#### [Text]

The interim vice chairman of the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL). Leroy Francis, is seemingly making a bid to unseat the party's interim chairman, Keikura Kpoto.

At the same time, Civil Service Director General Oscar Quiah is reportedly set on toppling Education Minister George Boley from the secretary general chair.

The take-over bids were disclosed by delegates attending the

party's national convention which opened yesterday at the Unity Conference Center outside Monrovia.

The three-day convention will see the election of the party's executives and the nomination of a running mate for the NDPL standard bearer, among other activities.

Other aspirants who are known to be vying

for positions within the Party are the deputy director general of the Liberia Water and Sewer Corporation, Maxwell Kaba, Jeannet Waylet and Mrs. Evelyn Mahsoe.

Speaking at the opening ceremony, interim chairman Kpoto, urged NDPL partisans to be dedicated and committed to the principles, aims and objectives of the party.

He told the over 500 delegates that their participation in the convention was indicative of their concern for the progress of the party, adding, it "will serve as a true determinant of your love for the iparty."

"As the party marches towards elections that will usher the nation into the Second Republic, we want to appeal to your good consciences to join forces with us so that we can march to victory", chairman Kpoto urged the NDPL partisans.

PLIGHT OF REFUGEES FLEEING INTO SOUTH AFRICA DESCRIBED

Into Gazankulu

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 25 Aug 85 pp 10, 11

[Text]

HOUSANDS of Mozambicans — some with babies strapped on to their backs — have fled through the Kruger National Park to South Africa in the past three months.

The refugees, now settled in Gazankulu, fled from the sadistic anti-Frelimo soldiers of Renamo. This week they told about their spine-chilling experiences under the ruthless Renamo.

The camps, scattered in the dense bushes of the Eastern Transvaal, are full of badly injured men, women and children - casualties of the weapons of Renamo guns, knives, swords, pangas and the trial of their five-day flight to safety.

They fled with almost nothing - a few blankets, the clothes they wore, a handful of food and Mozambique currency which they can't use here because of foreign exchange problems.

he men said Renamo raped their wives at gun-point in front of their children, families and other people.

"We were forced to clap hands as they raped our wives," he said.

At times we were made to lie down face-up, with our wives on top of us in the same way and a Renamo soldier on top, who then sexually assaulted her.

Some women became pregnant as a result.

"They even came at night, and shoved us out of bed to sleep with our wives and daughters.

"In most cases they took them away. Some have not come back. They also kidnapped young boys to train as soldiers," they said.

They also claimed Renamo sol-

They also claimed Renamo soldiers came into their homes and killed people without provocation.

They were ordered not to bury murder victims, but to leave them to rot. and Renamo often made followup visits to see if their orders were carried out.

If not, more people were killed.

Others had their arms, legs, ears or private parts cut up by Renamo soldiers, who forced onlookers to eat them.

They became victims themselves if they refused.

It is believed that many more Mozambicans have sought refugee in Swaziland and homelands near the borders of Mozambique such as Lebowa, KaNgwane, and KwaZulu.

Other claims of atrocities told by the refugees are that, when they crossed through the Kruger National Park, some of them were devoured by animals.

Because they were not armed, all they could do was run away.

rnesto Matsabane said he came from the

Makayeni village with his wife, two kids and his sister four months ago.

"Renamo took my brother and sister away, and also roasted three of our cattle.

"On our way through the Kruger National Park, I couldn't sleep because I was on the lookout for animals," said Mr Matsabane.

"We left my parents behind because they are too old and would not have made the journey. We have a new tractor at home, which we had not used."

Many more tell the same story.

Officials helping the "run-aways" said that at the moment they were able to feed, clothe, and provide medical attention and accommodation to them because they were being helped by various organisations, including the Gazankulu government.

Other organisations involved in helping the refugees are the International Red Cross, SA Council of Churches, World Vision and Operation Hunger.

Mozambique recently celebrated 10 years of a independence from Portugal.

But many people wondered what had happened to the peace and prosperity which seemed so close in 1975.

The shadowy rebel movement called the Mozambique National Restistance (Renamo) has ravaged that country with deadly sabotage attacks during the past decade.

Renamo was estab-

lished in 1970 by the Rhodesian authorities to counter Frelimo's support for the guerilla army of Robert Mugabe, now Zimbabwe's prime minister.

When Mugabe came to power in 1980, Rhodesian intelligence officials disclosed that Renamo was transferred to South

Africa, which was by then concerned about Mozambique support for African National Congress guerillas.

Mozambique stopped that support and expelled hundreds of trained ANC members after signing a non-aggression pact with South Africa, commonly known as the Nkomati Accord, about 18 months ago.

but the pact led to an increase in rebel vio-

Mozambique officials have admitted that the only way it will be able to move forward in the next decade is to solve the country's security problem.

In their attempt to topple President Samora Machel's Frelimo government, the rebels have caused havoc in villages, destroying stock, looting, killing, raping and kidnapping people.

Renamo's propaganda machinery reported that last month 1 237 people were killed by Frelimo agents in the central provinces of Manhica and Sofala.

he rebels accuse the villagers of supporting President Machel.

But the peasants are helplessly caught up in the hostilities between Frelimo and Renamo.

Frelimo wants the people to move to central camps in urban areas, where they will have greater control over them.

This will also ensure that the local population does not aid Renamo rebels.

Renamo, in turn, has told the people to stay where they are, promising to protect them.

This has led to the mass exodus of Mozambican refugees – some falling prey to wild animals.

Refugees are not deterred by the threat of wild animals in the Kruger National Park – many have been killed and eaten by animals.

## Blown Up by Mines

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Aug 85 pp 1. 2

[Article by Brian Pottinger and Stephan Terblanche]

[Text] A FEW METRES from the safety of South African soll lie the bleached bones of a Mozambican refugee — blown up by a landmine at the border fence.

He was one of the unlucky ones among hundreds of refugees who daily brave the killing fields to cross into South Africa. Once here they join a

refugee population of more than 160 000 Mozambicans.

The Mozambican Government — desperate to halt the human flood from its borders — has since March begun to mine key crossing points on the border with South Africa. The known death toll to date is 26.

So desperate is the situation in Mozambique that this week two fully-

armed Frelimo soldiers skipped the border, claimed war-weariness and appealed for political asylum.

A Sunday Times investigation found human skeletons littering an area along the South African border in the vicinity of Komatipoort and the Kruger National Park — all victims of anti-personnel landmines.

The Mozambican Government claims the mines are there to stop the movement of rebels across the border.

South African sources believe their purpose is to halt

the exodus of refugees.

And some local farmers even claim Mozambican artillery had fired on refugees! at the crossing points.

For the victims it is all the

same. Some skeletons have been picked clean by wild animals, others lie where they fell, fully dressed.

The bodies are left to rot, apparently to deter others.
This week Mr Louis Nel, South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said the problem of the Mozambican "illegal immigrants" was very serious — particularly from a health aspect.

Top-level talks between the two governments over

the illegals — neither government calls them refugees - has resulted in a possible compromise.

South Africa will help fund refugee camps to be set up on the Mozambican side of the border.

South African security forces confirm they repatriate 1 500 illegal Mozambican immigrants a month.

In one night 128 people were arrested near Komatipoort and some farmers repoort and some farmers re-port that as many as 200 refu-gees a night flock through their farms. But official sources admit this is just the tip of the iceberg.

#### Terror

The Sunday Times team this week found the wretched flotsam of famine and war in Mozambique living huddled together for shelter in the South African bush. All told of hunger and their

fear of the Renamo rebel forces who roam freely across the Mozambican countryside terrorising the

peasants.

Most of the refugees try to make for Ka-Ngwane or Gazunkulu where there is less chance of deportation — an estimated 100 000 refugees live in those homelands.

South African security south African security forces, meanwhile, invariably send the arrested illegals back across the border with the knowledge that many will again risk the landmines, bandits and police patrols to escape the hell of war-torn Mozambique. of war-torn Mozambique.

A visit to the killing fields

this week produced five skeletons within one kilometre roughly one body every 200m.

In most cases the mines had exploded within five metres of the fence, often blasting nearby trees.

In one place the Sunday

Times team found an unde-tonated anti-personnel mine, army green, lethal and of Soviet origin.

It was of the "Jumping Jack" variety used against US soldiers in Victnam.

The growing Mozambican refugee population is only part of a much wider refugee problem — tens of thousands of other refugees from Le-sotho and Zimbabwe are now in South Africa or the homelands.

# Asylum

The seriousness of the situation in the southern part of Mozambique was revealed this week when an officer and a sergeant of the Mozambi-can armed forces crossed into South Africa in full battle-dress and armed with AK478.

The two men surrendered to security forces and are being held as illegal immigrants. It is understood they

are seeking political asylum.

Mr Nel, who is co-chairman of the Joint Security
Commission set up between the two countries in the wake of the Nkomati Accord, confirmed the arrest of the two men and said the Mozambican authorities had been informed.

There has been no official

response and it is also unknown whether the South African Government will return the deserters.

The soldiers fled a deteriorating situation in the Mozambican army where mo-rale is at an all-time low due to the unremitting guerrilla campaign waged by the rebel forces — once supported by South Africa.

South African border farming communities are rife with stories of starving Frelimo troops crossing into South Africa and offering their weapons in exchange for food.

Drought and a debilitating civil war have sapped the Mozambican economy over

the last five years.
Millions of Mozambicans are now confronting starvation and many of them are seeking salvation in South Africa.

Mozambique's sorry state marks a sharp contrast to the optimistic projections over its future at the signing of the Nkomati Accord more than 17 months ago whereby South Africa agreed to cut off supplies to the Renamo forces if Mozambique's Frelimo Government booted out the African National Congress.

Since then Renamo has shown no sign of dying and has apparently found different backers.

This week they struck against Maputo's suburbs and sources closely connected with Mozambique indicate that were it not for the 20 000odd foreign troops in Mozambique - mainly Zimbab-weans - the rebels could overthrow the government of President Samora Machel.

Relations between Pretoria and Maputo remain good. although in some South Afri-can Government quarters there is a growing irritation at what they claim is gratuitous, although discreet, propaganda waged against them by Maputo.

# Frelimo Soldiers Hand in Guns

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Aug 85 p 2

[Report by Stephan Terblanche]

#### TERRIFIED and starving refugees [Text] of the bitter civil war in Mozambique are living in makeshift bush camps in South Africa - desperately avoiding repatriation to their war-torn homeland.

Not only Mozambican villagers but also starving Frelimo soldiers are flooding across the border.

So low is the morale of Mozambican soldiers that one, manning a machine-gun post along the South African border, offered his machine-gun to a South African farmer for a few loaves of bread.

The farmer, Mr Allie de Beer, of Castenopoulos farm flanking the border south of Komatipoort, says the man told him he did not want to be a soldier but had been made to join Frelimo.

"One refugee told me he had left his village after government troops had taken a pregnant woman and slit her belly open with a bayonet."

Mr de Beer's son, Alwyn, says they sometimes phone the police to round up the refugees. At

other times they merely feed them and let them go again.
"They tell
us that they

have no food in Mozambique, and also that they want no part in the fight-ing between

Renamo and Frelimo," he says.

His wife Santie tells of a six-year-old boy who walked for days, crossing mine fields, and came to her house begging for food.

"The worst part of it all is the many child-ren that fiee here," she says.

John Shabangu, who lives right against the border fence on Mr de Beer's farm, says veld fires have wiped out traces of many skeletons in the area.

Mr Shabangu, who spends his time inspect-ing the border fence for the State Veterinary Services, says he often hears explosions as refugees detonate trip-wired landmines. But the most moving tales are told by the

refugees themselves.

Ninety refugees caught the night before sit in the Komatipoort police station with star-ing eyes. The room is filled with the stench of human misery.

All are covered with sores and all seem to be coughing. South African policemen hand out water and cigarettes and bony hands eagerly grab them. Their few possessions lie scattered around. They all tell of war atrocities and starvation.

Speaking through an interpreter, Mrs Dekas Ndhlovu, who comes from Mphlanguene in Mozambique, near Muanetse in the Kruger National Park, said she had fled to South Africa "because the people kill us in Mozam-

bique"

"Men with guns come to our villages and kill us. We don't know whether they are Frelimo or Renamo. They don't speak to us, they just start shooting," she said.
"Sometimes they ask us where the Frelimo

soldiers are. When we say we do not know, they kill us."

Mrs Ndhlovu said they had no food. There were no more shops, and the mealies they grew were taken from them by soldiers.

"We come to South Africa because of the fighting and the killing. We believe in South Africa we will find a better life," she said.

"We cannot go back because there will be no more records in our willages. These

people in our villages. Those who stay behind are taken away. They just disappear and we never see them again.

"Renamo kills us if we go back and Frelimo takes some people back to their villages where they are told to work in the fields, while others are taken to Maputo."

She explained the absence of young men in her refugee group by saying they had all run away from the villages out of fear that they would be forced to join one of the two

fighting forces.

# **Bodies**

Mrs Ndhlovu said she saw many bodies near the border fence, but they did not deter her. She had to get out of Mozambique and into South Africa.

CSO: 3400/1066

She said that if the authorities returned her to Mozambique, she would simply try to make her way back to South Africa again.

An old woman in the group said elderly people in the villages were being killed, while young women were forced by soldiers to work in mealie fields.

"It was better when the Portuguese were still there." she said.

Mr Daniel Mahanuki, who comes from Masingwe in Mozambique, said Řenamo killed villagers and took their food.

"I don't care which one of the two governs the country, because I don't know why they are fighting. We just want peace," he said. He said young men were forced to join the govern-

ment Frelimo army.

"It is Frelimo who planted the bombs near the border fence. It is cruel. They want to kill us so we won't come to South Africa," he said. He said he also saw many

bodies when he crossed the

"Frelimo says we must stay in Mozambique so that we can all die together. They always watch us," he said.

"If we return to Mozambique, Frelimo will put us in jail. They also shoot us.'

#### Birth

But, of the two factions, Renamo committed the worst atrocities, he said.

South African Government

officials, meanwhile, tell of a woman lost in the Kruger National Park who gave birth in the reserve.

With only a scarf to cover the infant, it was near death when the pair were found by a security patrol.

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MINISTER STRESSES NEED TO DEFEAT BANDITS

MB301421 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1100 GMT 29 Aug 85

[Speech by Armando Guebuza, member of the Political Bureau of the Frelimo party and minister of state in the presidency, at a meeting with steel construction workers in Maputo on 28 August--recorded]

[Excerpts] All of us are in one way or another participating in the fight against armed banditry. It is not too difficult to check and determine whether our way of thinking is a common one and to make sure that we interpret the things that happen in the same manner and way. The armed bandit is the creation of apartheid; it is the creation of apartheid. The apartheid that we know is now hunting down blacks in South Africa. It is treating the mass of the Mozambican [as heard] population as if it were hunting game in Soweto and other places.

Apartheid uses the armed bandits against our country so as not to allow our development. In order for apartheid to succeed, it took over the International Police for the Defense of the State [PIDE] which existed in our country here. It had been established by colonialism. I think that although there are very young people here, there are others who are old and still others who are older, who know and perfectly recall PIDE. It took advantage of the PIDE network which was here. It took away the PIDE network and at the same time it took advantage of individuals who acted in an unpatriotic manner and who did not want to acknowledge their mistake and decided to run away from independence. As independence was coming, they ran away from freedom. It took advantage of them. It took advantage of these individuals.

It is true that in the history of armed banditry, we know that they were in Rhodedia, currently Zimbabwe, and they subsequently went to South Africa. This is true. They are essentially unpatriotic elements.

Apartheid took advantage of the contradictions which existed and exist between our power and colonialism, contradictions which left their scars, contradictions which left their marks. The marks were left through the nationalization of land, the recovery of land, through the nationalization of rental buildings and through other popular measures that are well known to you comrades.

These were elements who had interest in lands and buildings and other sectors. They could not forgive the people's power established in Mozambique. These

are the people hankering for a return to colonialism. The colonialists, even after the end of colonialism, had to work out the means that could allow them to return to colonize us, to return to the old order, to the order of colonialism. The apartheid, the apartheir machine, took advantage of PIDE, of bloody and criminal elements in the colonial army who refused to accept independence, and it also took advantage of individuals who were the backbone of colonialism. These were elements who had money and were wealthy. They were prevented from continuing to exploit us as they used to by our independence. elements decided to challenge our power and use their resources and so they handed them over to the Boers. The latter took advantage of these elements and others. It mainly took advantage of these elements. That is why we see elements of the colonial bourgeoisie who, having gone to South Africa and taken shelter there, are continuing to give active support to all the ways which may create contradictions in our midst. Thus, the armed bandits are just this: they are a vengeance of colonialism. They are an element of colonialism's vengeance. [passage omitted]

We all know the terrorist character of the actions of the armed bandit. The armed bandit enters a village to kill. He kills. He burns down our hut. He steals our produce from the barn. The armed bandit goes to the railroad. When he sees a train coming, he opens fire at it. In that train are our comrades traveling from one province to another province, from one district to another district. In that train there are products that we sell abroad or even products passing through our country--the products that earn us foreign currency and money--to be sold outside our country, but the armed bandit destroys them. Who is in that train and who is in that village. Well, it is our mother, our grandfather, our son, our nephew, our fiancee, our daughter, our wife and also the bandit's own wife. It is true, isn't it? However, he kills them. When he sees a bus passing, he does not care to know who is inside. He fires his bazooka at everybody in it. His mother may be in it or not. His fiancee may be in it or not. He does not care. He is only concerned with killing. He is a terrorist. He is a peace-disturbing element. He is an element who creates panic in people.

So these are the characteristics of the armed bandit. He kills and robs. He is not just happy with doing this in the countryside. He also goes to the factories, which he seeks to destroy. Once he destroys the enterprises, what happens. We remain without the means of production. We cannot make chairs, tubes, roofing sheets and blankets and other things. He blocks our economic life.

For a country to survive, it needs an economy. It needs production. So the nature of an armed bandit is an antisocial one. His aim is just to destroy. Usually, when people have objectives, their objective is to destroy things. It is to destroy our prosperity, to destroy his own family and our families. I wonder whether there is somebody here who does not know someone who has been a victim of the armed bandits. Is there such a person here? Is there one? Is there such a person who does not know anyone who has been a victim of the armed bandits. We all know someone.

COMMENTARY LINKS NEED FOR DEFENSE, PRODUCTION

MB301627 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 29 Aug 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] As Mozambque's Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano was opening this week's international trade fair in Maputo, the army chief of staff, Sabastiao Mabote, and other senior members of government were launching a fresh recruitment campaign for the national defense forces. The timing was fortuitous, but there is an underlying link between the two phenomena.

Mozambique's citizens are vitally in need of economic expansion in all sectors of production and trade for domestic needs and for the external market. Defense of Mozambique against externally based aggression was being presented in factories and services throughout the capital as an absolute priority. The irony is all too obvious: the source of recruitment for the armed forces is principally single men and women in their 20's. This is precisely the generation that has benefited from the massive expansion in general education that Mozambique witnessed in its first decade of independence. It is the generation that in normal conditions could contribute the next (?financial) advance in industrial activity. It provides an urban work force that is increasingly skilled and politically conscious after the colonial period of stifled initiative and inadequate schooling and vocational training.

Training the new recruits for military duties will demand enormous resources as the expanded army must be adequately fed, clothed and equipped to provide an effective response to the bandit terror that is financed and supplied by enemies of Mozambican revolution. At the same time, the morale and well-being of the mass of Mozambique's population depend on adequate food supplies, social welfare services, and the basic consumer goods that encourage the producer in field and factory and raise living standards above the bare minimum that so many face to keep outside the drought-affected areas where survival itself is in question.

On the economic front, international and national participation in the Maputo trade fair brought a reminder of unfavorable trading balances with major trading partners. The fair demonstrated the capacity of Mozambique's fledgling industries to produce goods of quality but in slightly insufficient quantity. Even more eloquent was the fact that key sectors of the economy, such as

the sugar industry, could present only a low profile as their full potential is held back by blocked lines of foreign credit.

Mozambique has successfully renegotiated its overall western foreign debt, but is as yet unable to draw the fruits in particular sectors where the purchase and supply of capital equipment and input is still pending. Mozambique has to spend abroad to reequip its revenue earners, particularly in the field of agro-industry.

Supplies and aid have come from the socialist countries and from the social democracies, but Mozambique has no desire to be a mere dependent of the goodwill of others. Its long-term strategy is to create a viable socialist economy whose production ensures that there will be benefits to consume in material and welfare terms. What Mozambique is crying out for is both peace and prosperity; and in a country with Mozambique's long history of withstanding oppression and aggression, such peace and prosperity are indivisible.

#### POLISH AMBASSADOR PRAISES INCREASED BILATERAL COOPERATION

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguse 23 Jul 85 p 8

[Excerpts] Wladyslaw Malik, the Polish ambassador to our country, has said that 1985 was a happy year in terms of the relations between Mozambique and Poland, since major steps were taken toward an increase in bilateral cooperation, which has been very limited until the present.

The Polish diplomat made this statement during a press conference he held in Maputo on Friday, in connection with the celebration yesterday, 22 July, of the 41st anniversary of the drafting of the Lublin Manifesto by the Polish Committee of National Liberation. This was the first official document drafted by the people's regime in Poland to define the basis for the rebuilding of the new country.

At the meeting with Mozambican newsmen, Wladyslaw Malik began by speaking of the historic past of his country, with its 38 million inhabitants and area of 312 square kilometers, stating that Poland is a nation with a history of more than a thousand years, and that it lost its independence in 1918.

Malik said in this connection that the country is now achieving stability and has succeeded in regaining its place on the international level. "Our crisis taught us to rely on our own strength and taught us various other lessons, because today we are capable of defining who our true friends are."

In this connection he said that the People's Republic of Mozambique was able to demonstrate its moral and political support during the difficult times for his country.

The Polish diplomat said that the Polish people share support of the liberation movements in southern Africa with the people in Mozambique, as they do the desire for the prosperous development of the southern region of Africa.

Speaking of the relations between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Polish People's Republic, Wladyslaw Malik stressed that 1985 was a happy year in this respect. After an exhaustive description of the steps taken with a view to the development of these relations, he voiced the desire of his government to do everything possible to ensure an advance in bilateral cooperation.

Ship construction, the forestry industry, fishing, the food industry and geological prospecting--these are some of the areas defined for cooperation between the two countries and noted in his statement by the Polish ambassador.

Ambassador Wladyslaw Malik concluded the press conference with the statement that because of the crisis experienced by his country, it was not possible to develop cooperation with Mozambique earlier, but currently conditions are favorable, and "in the near future, our relations will reach a higher level."

5157 CSO: 3442/360

ITALY SUPPLIES TEACHERS, MATERIALS FOR JOURNALISM SCHOOL

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 30 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Georgio Testori, the ambassador of Italy in Maputo, yesterday made a gift of sports equipment to the Mozambican School of Journalism in Maputo, including 25 pairs of shoes, an equal number of shirts and two soccer balls. Some of the students who did outstanding work during the first semester at that establishment were also presented with awards provided by the faculty at the school.

The presentation of the equipment occurred in the course of the ceremony ending the first school semester, which was also a farewell ceremony for the head of the teaching staff, Lavinia Gasperine, who is returning to her home country, Italy, after 8 years of service in Mozambique, three of them in this educational institution.

In his address, the Italian ambassador emphasized the importance of the Mozambican School of Journalism. He said that in a country in the process of development such as ours, a school of this sort is essential to the training of the cadres who in the future can serve as leaders.

The diplomat also noted that in the developing countries, the basic problem is not always raw materials, but above all the availability of cadres to carry their development forward.

The Italian ambassador also mentioned the possibility that his country may provide more aid to this school. In this connection, he said that although Mrs Gasperine is now leaving, the school can always count on Italian support.

Willy Waddington, who represented the Ministry of Information at the ceremony, expressed the hope that the second semester, now beginning, will develop in the best possible way. He also praised the head of the teaching staff, Lavinia Gasperine, for the efforts she has made with a view to the development of the school.

A message delivered on behalf of the students at the ceremony recognized the fact that although a certain growth in terms of school profitability has been seen, it is still too soon to make a full judgment, because the end of the course is still a long time off.

# PORTUGUESE FIRM DONATES TELEVISIONS TO FRELIMO

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 Jun 85 p 9

[Text] The Portuguese SOMEC Company donated 100 television sets to the FRELIMO Party as its contribution in support of the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the independence of Mozambique. "This contribution is intended to enable the public to keep abreast of the accomplishments achieved over those years," said company president Dr Albrecht Frank, at the official ceremony of presentation of the sets.

The donation was received by the secretary of the Central Committee, Jose Luis Cabaco, representing the FRELIMO Party. On that occasion, that high-level party official revealed that the television sets had already been allotted among the sectors of social and public interest, among them hospitals, schools, hotels and restaurants.

In a brief speech during the ceremony, the president of SOMEC considered his invitation to attend the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of national independence an honor. "Occasions such as this are rare, when we can share the moments of joy and spontaneity of the people. For me, it was a pleasure to be invited to this act of confirmation of the 10 years of struggle and optimistic work," he said.

"In donating these 200 sets, we seek to contribute to keeping the public abreast of the accomplishments of the past 10 years, through their dissemination. We know the value of publicizing events," he added.

With regard to the presence of SOMEC in Mozambique, he considered it an honor because it thus "contributes to the development of the country."

In reply, the secretary of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee, Jose Luis Cabaco, thanked him for the gift, saying that it was highly appreciated by the organizing committee of the commemoration and the party.

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CSO: 3442/348

#### DISTRICT OF CHOKWE REORGANIZES COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 30 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Pulqueria Ivone]

[Text] Five new communal villages were established in the course of 1984 in the district of Chokwe, in Gaza, within the context of the activities pursued by the local bodies with a view to reorganizing the life of the people affected by armed banditry, Moreira Mondlane, secretary of the district organizational committee, announced several days ago.

In an interview granted to this newspaper, Moreira Mondlane said that these new rural communities resulted from the fact that the armed bandits crossed the Mazimuchope River in the direction of the locality of Malawo in 1983. This is the area where these five communal villages have now been established.

At that time, the population in this region was widely scattered, a situation which facilitated the criminal actions of the bandits. Within a short time, they made of the Malawo zone the scene of all kinds of atrocities. The bandits plundered the goods of the defenseless people and killed men, women, old people and children, in acts now known to be characteristic of the armed gangs.

The immediate reaction by the defense and security forces in that district forced the bandits to abandon the field, but they nonetheless left behind them much pain and misery.

Then the Chokwe District Party Committee, the District Assembly and the Defense and Security Forces undertook the task of reorganizing the life of these people. Within this framework, party cadres held mobilization sessions for the people with a view to the establishment of communal villages.

#### Subsequent Calm

Just a few months later, the population in the Malawo area was already living a life of calm. Using local resources, they had built their houses and infrastructure facilities.

The district bodies undertook to distribute production materials and seeds, as well as goods of first necessity.

The Defense and Security Forces, in turn, trained the people for self-defense and, according to the statements by the Chokwe district organizational secretary, the Malawo zone now represents a rampart where the enemy attempting to penetrate is crushed.

"The people in these communal villages feel safe, and they are now engaged in building improved homes, using local resources," Moreira Mondlane said in conclusion. He added that the district bodies are now preparing to provide accommodations for tens of persons who have fled to the city of Chokwe because of the activities of the armed bandits.

5157 CSO: 3442/374

#### SUBSTANTIAL AID PROVIDED BY WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 25 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Abdul Carimo: "Increased Food Aid to EMOCHA"]

[Text] The World Food Program (WFP) will allocate \$25 million to Mozambique, probably beginning in September of 1986, for the expansion of the food aid and farm production for self-supply program of the workers at the Mozambican Tea Enterprise (EMOCHA) in Zambezia. The WFP further intends to develop a milk production recovery program in the provinces of Maputo, Sofala and Zambezia, as well as continuing with its aid to the forestry sector in Maputo, Inhambane, Sofala and Manica. Another food aid program to be expanded is that providing support for the vocational training centers and primary schools.

The food aid which the WFP will supply is of the greatest importance, particularly since it will provide an incentive which is in fact needed for the greater involvement of the workers in the programs for increasing, diversifying and developing farm crops, and also the establishment of better infrastructures in the region.

The food aid program, which began in 1982 and is to end in September of next year, involves daily supplies of food to the workers, including quantities of corn, fish, beans and edible oils. Food rations are also provided to the families of workers.

Each worker at the EMOCHA pays 12 meticals per meal to the enterprise. In other words, the daily food cost is exactly 24 meticals. The funds thus collected are invested in development programs both for farm production and regional infrastructures.

About 33 percent of these funds go into programs for the improvement of social infrastructures, 21 percent into crop production, 17 percent into livestock breeding and 13 percent into reforestation, among other activities.

It has already been possible to produce garden crops, including cabbage, tomatoes, amaranthus, sweet potatoes and greens on an area of almost 200 hectares or more, and tens of hectares of coffee planting. Also several hectares of nursery plants, forage crops, grains, grange land, eucalyptus and

pine trees were cultivated. The purpose in the reforestation sector is to cover an area of 10,000 hectares, which has almost been achieved.

By the end of last year, more than 760 houses, tens of schools, more than 10 dining halls and nine large warehouses had been built. The project calls for the construction of 1460 houses, 31 schools (the plan has been exceeded) and 12 warehouses.

One important aspect is that the WFP aid program was also planned with a view to the simultaneous stabilization of manpower in the region and ensuring better nutritional conditions. The number of workers at the EMOCHA varies between 10,000 and 26,000, depending on production volume. The program is designed to find the labor solutions best suited to the majority of the workers.

This Gurue region, where the EMOCHA is located, also is characterized by the adaptation of its temperate climate to the production of wheat.

Other Projects Planned

The WFP also will provide food aid to the forestry sector, in the provinces of Maputo, Inhambane, Sofala and Manica, in particular, through a program involving about \$20 million. This program too is to be expanded.

WFP representative Pierre Bolduc told NOTICIAS that the food aid program for the forestry sector will benefit at least 7,000 Mozambican workers.

This international organization sponsored by the United Nations intends, moreover, to develop a milk production recovery program in the provinces of Maputo. Sofala and Zambezia.

On the other hand, it will increase its aid to primary schools and vocational training centers with a program which has already cost \$16 million. This is the sector of cooperation between Mozambique and the World Food Program which has been in effect the longest.

To date, aid has been provided to at least 127 primary schools and 11 vocational training centers, in vast areas of our country, and more than 17,000 individuals have benefitted from this aid.

#### TETE METALLURGICAL ENTERPRISE TO BE REHABILITATED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 27 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The Metallurgical Enterprise in the city of Tete will undergo rehabilitation in the next 2 years, including work to repair and modernize the existing equipment. Within this plan of action, a new foundry line will be introduced at that industrial enterprise for the first time. Equally important will be the repair of welding equipment which is not functioning properly at present. Following these improvements, in the opinion of the enterprise director, Joao Carvalho Junior, the Tete Metallurgical Enterprise will be in a position to provide at least a minimal response to the increasing needs of the province, particularly where the construction and assembly of metal structures are concerned.

With this rehabilitation effort, the Tete Metallurgical Enterprise will have resolved the problem of importing certain materials it so urgently needs in order to function. When we visited this industrial unit very recently, the director, Joao Carvalho Junior, told us that since the time in about 1976 when the state took over the enterprise, it has completed major projects for the development of the province of Tete, such as the installation of warehouses, including one for the AGRICOM in the district of Angonia, and another in Moatize for the DIMAC, in the city of Tete.

Although there are certain delays at present because of shortages of materials, the director of the Metallurgical Enterprise also stressed the assembly of cultivating machinery for the Rural Development Program (PDR) department as another major achievement of this industrial unit since independence was won.

Within the campaign to promote innovation and solutions to shortages of one part or another, the Metallurgical Enterprise, thanks to the innovative imagination of its workers, has even produced gearboxes for use in Volvo vehicles.

During our short stay in the province of Tete, we were able to see a considerable number of milling machines produced at the enterprise, some of which, moreover, were sent to the province of Niassa. Also, this movement has seen growth recently. The director explained the reasons for this situation to us.

"We have problems because our machinery is very old. The majority of our machines are not working, despite the efforts of the workers to keep the factory operational, always trying to find alternatives with each temporary problem. It was because of this situation that we halted the assembly of cultivating machines," he said.

But the activities at the Metallurgical Enterprise did not come to a halt. For a ceremony to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the winning of national independence, the workers at this industrial enterprise used their initiative to resolve the lack of a rostrum, building one for the first time just like those produced in the capital of the country. It will be recalled that in another important activity, the Tete Metallurgical Enterprise effected the replacement of one of the pillars of the bridge over the Zambeze River.

As a way of contributing to practical training in the metallurgical sector, the enterprise has been aiding some students in the technical schools in the city of Tete, who are regularly performing tasks alongside the workers at the enterprise, thus gaining some knowledge of the techniques of this profession.

At present the enterprise is employing 86 workers, who see to its operation in a spirit of sacrifice and with a will to build. One of these workers, Porfirio Sobrinho, told our reporters that he joined the enterprise as an apprentice 13 years ago, and today he is one of the technicians.

"It was not difficult for me to advance, because I have a great desire to learn," Porfirio Sobrinho, 25, said. He is now instructing his colleagues in wielding and metalworking.

We were about to leave the enterprise when the director, Joao Carvalho Junior, pointed out a pile of already finished metal parts which are nonetheless still there because the clients who ordered them have not been heard from. "This hinders our activity too, because this material we have used is tied up here," the director said, adding that he is quite concerned about this situation.

#### WORKERS' ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP INCREASED IN GAZA

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 27 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The Mozambican Workers' Organization (OTM) in Gaza currently has more than 16,400 members, according to a report on the activities of this trade union organization which was read during the Fourth Session of the Provincial Council of the OTM in Gaza. At this same session, the council established a control and discipline office.

The provincial secretary of the OTM in Gaza presided at this meeting, which was held in Praia do Chongoene, in Xai-Xai, and lasted 2 days. Participants included the district secretaries of the organization, various officials of mass democratic organizations and a delegation from the OTM in Inhambane, headed by the provincial secretary there.

The report on the main activities pursued by the OTM in this province during the first half of this year said further that more than 10,300 members of the organization are now paying their dues regularly, thanks to the mobilization effort made by the base-level structures, in particular in the enterprises and departments where the OTM had been established earlier.

Moreover, during the first half of this year, 11 trade union committees were established in various sectors of activity, while a total of 660 individuals joined the organization for the first time.

The participants in the Fourth Session of the Gaza Provincial Council of the OTM, divided up into study groups, exchanged experience with regard to the work done by this trade union in the various districts of the province. The conclusion reached was that the organization is tending to grow increasingly and that the political and labor awareness of the workers has also developed significantly.

Speaking of the development of the meeting, the provincial secretary of the OTM said during the concluding session that it appears from the group summaries that although the workers have encountered a whole series of difficulties in pursuing their functions, they showed great concern with the achievement of goals, in particular with reference to the supplementary plans in salute to the 10th anniversary of the winning of national independence.

In response to one of the questions raised by the participants about the living conditions of the workers, the OTM secretary said that the enterprises should bear in mind that there can only be production and productivity when the workers have at least the minimal supply problems resolved. Therefore, all sectors of activity should establish social centers for their workers.

However, since the Internal Trade Office will not be able to meet the needs of all the centers immediately, this official appealed to the trade union committees to mobilize the workers with a view to establishing collective farms to supply their own centers.

During this session, socialist emulation awards were presented to four cadres in the Gaza Provincial OTM Council for the outstanding work done in carrying out their programs. The prizes were sets of dishes and items of clothing.

#### ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS RECEIVE MEDALS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 Jun 85 p 9

[Text] In Maputo yesterday, 17 workers from various road transportation sectors were awarded the "Valor and Patriotism" Medals, 1st and 2d Class, which were recently established by the permanent committee of the People's Assembly in connection with the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of national independence.

The recipients of those medals were drivers and truckers' helpers of the South Mozambique Roadways (ROMOS) and the Oliveiras Transport and Tourism Company Ltd, for having distinguished themselves heroically in their work sectors, as the secretary of state for road transportation, Lazaro Mathe, explained.

Held in the ROMOS premises in Maputo, the awards ceremony for those workers was attended by the deputy minister of merchant marine, Isaias Muhate, the secretary of state for civil aviation, Angelo Chichava, the national director of ports and railways, Ferreira Mendes, the political commissar of the port of Maputo, Felix Amane, and the assistant secretary general of the Mozambican Workers Organization (OTM), Jose Correia Ganancio.

Also present at the ceremony were the relatives of those decorated in addition to a large number of cadres and workers connected with the transportation sector.

Before the ceremony, the Kamwaela group of the TPU [expansion unknown] played a few numbers from its repertoire. A message presented on the occasion by a worker from the transport sector emphasized:

"We feel very encouraged and honored by the fact that this ceremony is part of the great holiday of all the Mozambican people and is held in the presence of a large number of workers of this sector who in their daily work struggle to overcome the innumerable difficulties that our country is going through at this time."

Speaking on the occasion, the secretary of state for transportation, Lazaro Mathe, stressed that the life of the various sectors of the population in

general depends very much on that sector which, in his words, "represents the main arteries that guarantee the circulation of goods," for that reason being an easy and preferred target of the enemy.

"These decorations are an encouragement by the party and government for those who heroically knew how to defend the cause of all on behalf of the whole country, including with their own lives in some cases," said Lazaro Mathe.

He added that "at the same time, they represent a greater responsibility for the whole sector and particularly those who receive this distinction."

Speaking about some workers who died by the action of the armed bandits in different missions, Lazaro Mathe said that "they died unfalteringly and in fulfillment of a patriotic duty."

In conclusion, the secretary of state for road transportation appealed to all the workers in his sector to become more united and organized in order to thwart any attempted enemy action.

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#### AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN NAMAACHA REPORTS GOOD RESULTS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 30 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] The peasants in the family, private, cooperative and state sectors in the district of Namaacha, Maputo Province, have been participating dynamically and enthusiastically in the pursuit of agricultural tasks in the past 2 years. In this way, they have been implementing one of the priority tasks set forth by the government and the party in our country, the battle against hunger. According to Antonio Fernando Mandlate, the administrator in this district, excellent results can be expected from the 1984-1985 farm season, currently under way. More than 4 tons of various grains have already been marketed.

In order to make organized and controlled production possible in the farm sector, the Namaacha District Committee bodies are currently pursuing a mobilization and consciousness-raising effort (a process already well advanced) among the peasants, with a view to establishing a District Farmers Association.

According to the administrator in Namaacha, family production in that area is the spinal column for the production of grains (corn and sorghum). This sector covers an area of 7,126 hectares, with an average of 3 hectares per family.

During the 1984-1985 farm season, the family sector in the various localities in the district obtained an average production of 600 kilograms of corn per hectare, good production of cassava and sweet potatoes, and limited production of nhemba beans. These figures cover about 40 percent of the general estimate in hectares for the family sector.

We were able to learn that this sector also produces watermelons and garden vegetables, while on the other hand engaging in the raising of small and large livestock species.

The localities of Matsequenha, Chicochana, Mandevo, Gumbe, Estatuene, Changalane, Mafuiane, Macuacua, Mafavuca-Macanda and Cocomela are those which achieved the best results in harvesting corn, cassava and nhemba beans.

#### Peasant Surpluses

In some of these zones, the farm marketing process has already started, and about 4 tons of surplus have already been purchased by the state. In this farm product marketing process, difficulties resulting from the shortage of products for exchange, such as sugar, soap, oil, clothing, batteries and salt, are being encountered.

According to the official with whom we talked, surplus products are still in the hands of the peasants in a number of localities in the district of Namaacha, since the bodies responsible for farm marketing have not succeeded in obtaining the products for exchange which the peasants need.

Our interlocutor told us that whenever the district domestic trade structures obtain grains for sale in the various localities, they cannot market them because the local population needs industrial products above all, such as sugar, oil, clothing and others.

"Our localities produce grain, particularly corn and sorghum, in very large quantities. The only thing is that these products remain in their hands because of the problem of shortages of the products they most need," the Namaacha district administrator said.

#### Staff Training

According to the statements made to our reporters by Antonio Fernando Mandlate, the excellent farm results now seen in this part of the province are basically due to the work done by those organizing the peasants' work.

"These peasant organizers had technical training in agriculture at the Provincial Training Center for Peasant Staffers in our district," the administrator said.

"After their training, these staff members began to teach the peasants farm techniques which subsequently contributed greatly to the present high level of farm production. This is because after the popularization of agricultural techniques, the peasants began to prepare their land with proper care, contrary to what happened before these farm organizers were trained.

SILOS COMPLETED FOR GRAIN STORAGE PROGRAM

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Abdul Carimo]

[Text] A food storage program for grains will be launched in the city of Beira with the completion of construction work on 12 silos designed to hold a total of at least 45,000 tons of foodstuffs. The silo construction program, which was financed by the Swiss government, was carried out in coordination with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Other silos for the purpose of storing food will be built in Maputo and Nacala, and financing has already been allocated, at least for the capital of the country, by the FRG.

A delegation including representatives of the government of Mozambique, the FAO and the government of Switzerland will travel from Maputo to the city of Beira, probably next Wednesday, for the inauguration of the 12 silos built to store foodstuffs.

The financing provided by the Swiss government for this important project totaled 6 million Swiss francs, and the work of execution was coordinated with the FAO.

The building of the 12 silos in the city of Beira is of special importance, since this activity will make it possible to store thousands of tons of food products as a reserve, while simultaneously making the more regular and adequate distribution of grains to the people possible.

Moreover, the possibility of building silos for food storage in the capital of the country and in Nacala, in the province of Nampula, as well, will be studied. The FRG announced last year, for example, that it would finance a silo construction program in the city of Maputo within the framework of the bilateral cooperation program.

The building of the silos represents a very important achievement, particularly due to the fact that basic undertakings, some of which were recently announced by the Council of Ministers, are planned in our country for the reactivation of food production. In Chokwe, for example, high grain production indices were reported this year.

The level of hunger being experienced in Mozambique today, in large part the consequence of drought, is moreover rather serious. At least nine African countries are facing this same problem to a dramatic degree.

An FAO report says that in the past 10 years, the per capita food production in the countries of southern Africa has dropped by about 10 percent, and the average production for the human diet has remained at 6 or 7 percent below nutritional needs.

Unless major efforts are made in grain production, imports will come to 8 million tons within 20 years, which means hunger unless the countries in the region, long since heavily in debt, can bear the annual cost of \$4 billion which will be needed by the year 2000.

The Ministry of Home Trade has revealed, moreover, that Mozambique lacks about 298,000 tons of the grain total needed to supply the population in the next 1-year period. The grain requirement for supplying the 13 million citizens of Mozambique, including the reserves for the end of the period, is estimated at 750,000 tons. The volume of corn, wheat and rice available is estimated at 452,000 tons.

However, substantial offers of foodstuffs, including grain, continue to come to our country from the international community. Mozambique is still on the list of the nine African countries most critically affected by hunger. Italy, in particular, has established a special fund since the Geneva meeting to aid these countries.

Parallel with this, significant efforts are being made in extensive regions of the country to raise the food production indices still further, and various countries and organizations have been supplying Mozambique with substantial quantities of seeds and farm production tools.

A series of measures is being implemented in the provinces of Gaza and Manica, among others, with a view to improving the use made of fertile farm areas and making ever better use of water resources. In the Limpopo region, the Gaza bodies regard the building of irrigation facilities as basic to the production of foodstuffs.

# WORLD FOOD PROGRAM PROVIDING SHIPMENTS OF CORN

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] A substantial contribution to the food reserve program in the city of Beira is to be made by the World Food Program (WFP), which plans to supply 5,000 tons of corn. This quantity is to be stored in the silos which have now been completed, and which have a total storage capacity of 15,000 tons. The WFP has also just allocated 3,000 tons of corn to Maputo and another 2,000 tons to Nacala, also for food reserve purposes.

The WFP contribution to the food reserve program, which has involved deliveries of 10,000 tons to Beira, Maputo and Nacala to date, is estimated at a value of about 2 million meticals. The purpose of the aid is to benefit the food reserve program.

The WFP will provide 2 million meticals to finance the railroad link project which will make it possible to deliver the grain to the 12 silos now available.

As the WFP adviser, Pierre Bolduc, said, "the silos represent a real food reserve bank and are of extreme importance to the country."

Thanks to financing provided by the government of Holland, the World Food Program hopes to send four barges to our country. Designed for use in rather shallow water, they will undertake the process of distributing foodstuffs in the northern part of the province of Inhambane, more specifically to Vilanculo and Inhassoro. These barges will be aided by another vessel, the Fifth of June, which carries foodstuffs from the city of Beira to the province of Inhambane. This vessel will probably continue to transport food until the end of this year. The purchase of the four barges is budgeted at about \$300,000.

The WFP has financed various aid programs in the province of Inhambane to provide aid to the people suffering critically from hunger, particularly in the northern zone.

Mozambique and the World Food Program signed an agreement this year calling for the continuation and expansion of an emergency operation to aid Inhambane and Gaza as well, providing aid to about 50,000 individuals in the zones affected by the drought. The WSP agreed to supply an additional 9,000 tons of

corn for a period of 2 months. The total value of the operation came to about \$2 million.

In fact, in response to an appeal from the Mozambican government, the WFP approved an emergency program in December of 1983 for the general supply of 27,000 tons of corn and 3,600 tons of beans for distribution to the population affected. This operation included 465 tons of soybean flour, 310 tons of powdered milk, 155 tons of vegetable oil, 78 tons of sugar and 25 tons of freeze-dried products, costing a total of \$9,600,000.

In addition to this operation in Inhambane, the World Food Program is currently providing aid to the districts in the province of Tete, a part of Mozambique suffering critically from hunger because of the prolonged drought. This program, which represents the second phase of WFP aid to the province of Tete, is focused on nutritional rehabilitation measures.

Currently, the nutritional situation is not as critical as that in past months. The main ailments at the present time are malaria, measles and malnutrition.

An identical program is to be carried out in the districts of Magude and Moamba, in Maputo, and will be completed shortly.

The cost of this program is \$2.3 million.

INVESTMENT IN FARM MACHINERY NEEDED IN CHOKWE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Celio Mouco]

[Text] The state farm sector in Chokwe, in the province of Gaza, needs new and urgent investments in the equipment area in order to continue to play its preponderant and decisive role in comparison to other sectors. The mechanized area in the Chokwe zone and in the Limpopo Valley itself, including Xai-Xai, is attempting to function with a fleet of about 40 tractors which have been in use for more than 8 years and are hardly likely to survive yet another.

According to Joao Mosca, director of the Chokwe Farm Enterprise Coordination Office, despite the investment in large quantities of equipment for this zone in 1977 and 1978, the sector was nonetheless unprepared for an investment of this type.

During this period, the machines have been subjected to intensive use without the necessary repair shop organization to guarantee a longer useful life for the equipment.

Joao Mosca termed the need for investments in equipment for the state sector urgent, because, he said, if this is not done, the political, economic and social consequences may be adverse, above all if we bear in mind that there are investments which will be made in the private sector.

The private sector in Chokwe will receive about 70 new tractors this year through the USAID, an American agency for development. The family and cooperative sector, through other international bodies and institutions, has received new resources in the form of donations and even investments in that sector.

"In order to be sure that we can produce the same quantities as last year in the state sector this year, we are planning to use heavy machinery which is normally employed on irrigation facility construction projects or for clearing, along with tools we have asked to borrow from other zones in the province of Gaza and Maputo. And we are taking heavy machinery from the entire irrigation maintenance system, to the detriment of the program for periodic irrigation maintenance itself. These measures are fine if pursued

for a year, but it would be very bad if this period were exceeded, because the irrigation system must continue to be maintained, and the Irrigation Construction Enterprise (CREL) must continue to build. Also the enterprises which have lent us equipment have their own programs," the enterprise director in Chokwe said.

The preparation of the land with these borrowed resources, which could be used for other activities of greater economic value in terms of long-term investments, cannot continue for long, basically because the production costs per hectare and the mechanization costs are more than doubling.

Maintenance of Irrigation Facilities

The maintenance of irrigation facilities for an area of 30,000 hectares requires material capacity, equipment, fuels, technology, management, administration and discipline. The irrigation facilities constitute a real complex, the maintenance of which requires special and continuing attention.

According to information obtained by this newspaper, the material resources at present do not cover the maintenance of even 20 percent of the irrigated area. As a result, the level of salinization of the soil will increase, maintenance work on civil construction infrastructures (bridges, roads and dikes) is not being done, and the drainage ditches are not kept clean. All of this places the farm production conditions in this important region at risk.

The irrigation system has not been properly maintained, not so much due to the organization in the SIREMO (maintenance enterprise) as such, the commitment of human resources to this end or the number of workers, but basically for the reasons already dealt with in this article, which have caused the diversion of its technical and material capacity to meet the farm season needs.

Irrigation is of special importance in the process of developing production which has been introduced in Chokwe, based on the reorganization of the CAIL. The results obtained in the productive sectors which have traditionally not enjoyed the benefits of irrigation demonstrate this importance, moreover.

But if on the one hand the peasant receives land, produces, eliminates hunger for his family and obtains generous surpluses (as we have said in earlier articles), he now urgently needs other exchange goods—clothing, salt, sugar, soap, oil, [missangas], plows to be pulled by draft animals and better working tools.

This is regarded as the single main element which could dynamize the production increase in the family sector in Chokwe. Officials connected with this sector with whom our reporters talked said that the peasant can only do better work and make irrigation profitable if he knows that the production he will obtain, in addition to guaranteeing food and a seed reserve for the following season and supply familying members and friends in zones such as Maputo, he can obtain other goods in exchange to improve his life, can build a house to live in, and can buy zinc plate, wood, glass, furnishings and other items.

This is because, they explain, from the agronomic point of view, the peasant has irrigated land and the resources to work it, a team of oxen and a plow, and basically seeds, as well as positive weather conditions and the benefits of the staffing system which allows the introduction of better technology. Now what is really needed is the factor which will motivate the peasant to increase production.

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### IRRIGATION PROJECTS TO BENEFIT SMALL FARMERS IN CHOKWE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Celio Mouco: "The Other Aspect of Small Projects"]

[Text] In the past 2 years, approximately 3,000 new hectares have been irrigated in the family sector in Chokwe, in the province of Gaza, within the program for the development of small projects in that region of the country. These new irrigated areas are not a part of the 9,000 irrigated hectares also turned over to the family sector during the process of reorganizing the CIAL to which we have referred in earlier articles. These are new projects which will, from being small, become great.

The reality in our country demonstrates that the concept of small projects is not homogeneous, but varies from region to region. Where there is a certain number of heavy machines, a small project means one thing, and where these machines are not available, it may mean something else.

What is being sought in Chokwe with the pursuit of these projects is to develop canals which will make the irrigation of new areas possible for the family sector with a relatively low level of investment. A hectare of irrigated land, on this project level, may mean 40 or 50 contos, whereas under normal conditions irrigation costs at least 200 contos per hectare, our reporters learned from a reliable source in Chokwe.

In February of this year, President Samora Machel inaugurated the Xilembene and Xolocuane irrigation systems, serving 1500 and 500 hectares, respectively. There are also areas of no less than 500 hectares along the Limpopo River which have been improved thanks to the organization and construction of small canals by the peasants to benefit their own collective farms. A new project of this type is scheduled to begin in the area of Guija, on the left bank of the Limpopo River, for the irrigation of about 600 hectares.

In many of these irrigated areas, already in production, the Chokwe peasants have obtained considerable quantities of grain and truck-garden crops, making a significant contribution to balancing the production marketed by the various sectors. In the specific case of rice, the harvesting of which has just been completed, the family sector contributed 3,000 tons to the total production marketed.

#### Continued Corn Production

"We will not abandon the production of corn. There is no doubt that rice and truck-garden crops are highly profitable products, both per hectare and in terms of the prices currently paid. But corn...." Our interlocutor was Joao Ubisse, a rural extension agent (staffer) in the Lionde region in Chokwe.

He was answering a pertinent question from our reporters, since we wanted to learn from him, first as a farm agent and then as a peasant, whether the farmers in the family sector would abandon the cultivation of corn, as officials in the farm sector in the zone believe.

The land is not suited for corn, in view of the poor results obtained during the last two farm seasons, they say.

The second fact underlying the conviction of the local authorities (although less obvious) is that during the farm season just ended, more than 20 percent of the peasants "abandoned" the cultivation of corn, devoting more attention to rice. In other words, instead of 400-500 kilograms of corn, they turned to the production of 2,000 kilograms of rice on a single hectare in one season.

But for the Chokwe peasants, this problem cannot be explained simply in terms of cold figures. It is a little more complicated. Joao Ubisse explained:

"I too am among those who, after receiving land here in the irrigated area in 1983, focused all my attention on the production of corn. In reality, the results were negative. We are all aware of this. Because of the permanent contact we maintain with technicians in the state sector, and I in particular, as a farm staffer, saw that our efforts would not be profitable, and more serious still, we could not make irrigation, which cost the state many contos in investments, profitable."

According to Joao Ubisse, it was not difficult to explain these matters to those with irrigated land, and they responded moreover with a high level of understanding and desire to collaborate. And so other crops such as rice and vegetables--more profitable, incidentally--were introduced.

But at the end of his talk with our reporters, Ubisse concluded:

"I find a dish of corn tastier than one of rice."

He also raises cattle and currently has a herd of 20 head, including two teams of draft animals.

At his collective farm we saw cabbage and kale being harvested, and other related crops, including onions, garlic, sweet potatoes, squash and a little corn. It is a collective farm for demonstration (what is commonly called a pilot project), since as a rural extension agent his plot must produce in

terms of what would be ideal for this type of unit. The purpose is to encourage the peasants in the family sector to increase production, to make irrigation profitable and to increase the small project to a large one. And this will happen in Chokwe shortly.

### BRIEFS

PRIZES FOR ZAMBEZIAN WORKERS--More than 180 workers of various production sectors in Zambezia Province recently received socialist emulation prizes for having distinguished themselves in fulfilling the companies' supplementary plans in support of the 10th anniversary. The prizes distributed were radios, bicycles, watches, blankets, cloth, as well as diplomas of honor. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jun 85 p 2] 8711

BULGARIAN TELEVISION CREW--Bulgarian Television is filming a movie about women with scenes shot in Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia. For that purpose, a Bulgarian TV crew was in our country from 24 to 28 June after having been in Angola, going later to Ethiopia. The film should be presented for the first time this coming July in Nairobi during the World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women. According to a source of the Mozambican Women's Organization (OMM) in Maputo, the Bulgarian Television Professionals filmed the main commemoration of the 10th anniversary of our national independence, particularly the parade in which there was a great participation by women. They also filmed the work in the Emilia Dausse production center, where 60 women are working on tailoring and sewing, crafts and hairdressing. The Bulgarian reporters were received by a member of the national secretariat of the OMM. Filming was also scheduled to extend to the OMM Agricultural Production Center "The continual Struggle," the cashew factory of Chamanculo, the health center of Bagamoyo and a factory in the food or footwear sectors. The Bulgarian team was also scheduled to be received by the secretary general of the OMM, Salome Moiane. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jun 85 p 7] 8711

KOREAN PLEDGE OF SUPPORT—The ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cha Miang Guk, said in Maputo Thursday that his country firmly supports the actions for the establishment of peace promoted by the Mozambican Government. He also considered that the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of national independence represents a historic landmark for the Mozambican people. Cha Miang Guk was speaking at the opening of the anti-imperialist struggle campaign which runs from 25 June to 27 July. The ceremony took place in the Xenon Movie Theater with the participation of the president of the Moxambican Red Cross, Isaias Funzamo, among other personalities. A political—cultural ceremony was held at the meeting which culminated in the presentation of a documentary movie. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Jun 85 p 8] 8711

ROMANIAN TECHNICIANS VISIT -- A work team made up of cadres from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry of the Socialist Republic of Romania has been visiting our country since Wednesday to engage in talks with Mozambican officials. The purpose of their trip is also to draft a complex of measures to be proposed for the pursuit of the Romanian-Mozambican cooperation programs in the farm sector. The Romanian team traveled to the Chokwe region yesterday, where its members visited some farm units. They are scheduled to return to Maputo this afternoon. Later they will also visit the Montepuez district in Cabo Delgado and the city of Lichinga in Niassa for talks in connection with the work on the 400,000 Hectare Project, which covers these two provinces. It should be stressed that a complex of measures will be planned in connection with the 400,000 Hectare Project calling for technical aid from the Socialist Republic of Romania. This Romanian work team also expects to meet with Minister of Agriculture Joao Ferreira. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 19 Jul 85 p 1] 5157

DROUGHT, FAMINE HITS REGION--Deaths due to malnutrition continue to occur in the central region of Mozambique, AIM revealed today, quoting a report from the Department of Prevention and Combat Against Natural Disasters on the areas hit by drought and famine. The report for June and July states that famine has struck hardest in Sofala Province. The worst hit districts are Caia, Chemba, Maringue, and Marromeu, which are areas of difficult access. Due to this, emergency convoys have not been sent to those districts over the last few months. According to the report, the famine situation is worsened by armed bandit actions, which force a great number of people to seek refuge in Caia and Chemba, in the southern bank of the Zambeze River, where they are faced with lack of food and clothing. Although the situation has generally improved in Manica Province, famine and lack of clothing in Guru and Barue districts are still serious. The report also states that famine persists in nine districts of Tete Province where, due to armed bandit action, the peasants have not been able to work their plantations. Mozambique's central region as a whole suffers from severe malnutrition affecting 30 to 40 percent of its infant population. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 20 Aug 85 MB]

CSO: 3400/1058

# BID TO RESOLVE DISPUTE OVER SADF TEACHERS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Sep 85 p 3

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — Negotiations are under way to resolve a dispute between the Ovambo Administration and military authorities which led to the withdrawal of 23 SA Defence Force teachers from Ovambo schools last week, the Officer Commanding SWA Territory Force (SWATF), Major General George Meiring, said in Windhoek yesterday.

"The teachers have not been withdrawn permanently, but they have merely been removed until a dispute

can be solved," he told a media briefing.

Gen Meiring was asked if the removal of teachers would prove counter-productive in view of the South West African war "aimed at the hearts and minds of the people".

He said the Ovambo Administration "made it so difficult that it became impossible for the teachers to do

their work".

There would be negotiations to resolve the issue, but Gen Meiring declined to elaborate.

Supplied free

The teachers were supplied free to the administration by the SADF. According to earlier reports, the Deputy Director for Ovambo Education, Mr Denys Nandi, wrote to the military authorities last month that his department accepted sole responsibility for schooling in Ovambo.

There was no need for interference by other institu-

Mr Nandi said the teachers supplied by the military had gone ahead and arranged extra-curricular instruction for pupils without his permission.

According to the reports, Mr Nandi said civilian teachers were not allowed to be present at such after-school activities. — Sapa.

cso: 3400/1073

# INTELLIGENCE SPECIALIST JOHAN VORSTER SAYS SWAPO MORALE LOW

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Sep 85 p 10

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

SWAPO forces based in Angola are finding that the traditional revolutionary weapon of patience is backfiring on them.

Intelligence sources at military headquarters in Windhoek said yesterday that Swapo was becoming "jumpy" and "panicky" about its lack of success in the propaganda and shooting war.

Intelligence specialist Colonel Johan Vorster, told The Citizen that there were also indications that the Kremlin was not happy with Swapo's lack of success.

There were however no specific actions so far, such as a cutting off or clamping down on military hardware from the Eastern Bloc to indicate positively that Moscow was "fed up."

Swapo had since the beginning of the year increased sabotage, intimidation and abduction efforts in a bid to win credibility.

These were mainly aimed at the Ovambo population, who made up more than half the total population and most took place in the operational area.

He said that the traditional communist tactic of a protracted revolutionary war to wear down resistance were backfiring on Swapo.

#### Morale

"All our intelligence feedback indicates that Swapo's morale is low and that they have a growing feeling that they are losing the war," Col Vorster said.

Consequently sabotage and other violent incidents were being stepped up.

It was also known that a special Swapo force called "Volcano" was aiming at stepping up subversion among labourers in relatively stable agricultural areas south of the war zone.

At the same time Swapo was having trouble keeping its host country, Angola happy in its war against the Unita movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Swapo's situation had deteriorated since 1978 when it had some 16 000 trained terrorists available. It was now known that its available force was fewer than 9 000.

In addition nearly half of this force was being used to help the Angolan forces. Latest information was that the Kaokoveld and Kavango were "clean" and there were only about 40 known terrorists in Ovambo.

These 40 were constantly "on the hop" knowing that they could be "taken out" if they stayed at one point for more than a few days at a time.

### **Differences**

Of the confrontation between the Ovambo education authorities and the security forces over the supply of National Servicemen as teachers, Mayor-General George Meiring said: "There have been differences of opinion, but they are being sorted out."

"The problems were related to accusations about certain things we didn't do, but I think we can come to terms."

His comments came in answer to a question days after the Ovambo education authorities had asked the army to withdraw its soldier teachers.

# TERRITORY FORCE CAPABLE OF DEFENDING COUNTRY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Sep 85 p 10

[Text]

SOUTH West Africa is now within reach of being able to look after all her own military commitments—increasingly easing the pressure on young South Africans to fight in the border war.

Sources here at the Headquarters SWATF (South West Africa Territory Force) today gave extensive details of successes achieved in building up the country's own defence force to be ready for independence.

Colonel Tobie Hanekom, who has been with the defence force since its conception in 1978, confirmed that more than 60 percent of the troops now fighting the border war were members of the forces own unit in the field.

Major General George Meiring said: "This force, together with the other security forces operating in South West Africa, has now become a strong one to be reckoned with."

Since its formal establishment only five years ago in August 1980 the SWATF had become part and parcel of the people of SWA, and been given

total acceptance, he said.

Only finance was now tending to limit growth of the force, but, nevertheless, as it continued to expand so the demand for young South Africans to put their lives on the line in the territory was decreasing.

Both he and Col Hanekom said that the attitude of South West Africans of all races was positive and there appeared to be particularly among the Blacks— a growing urge to join up with what they regarded to be the winning side.

So much so that when a handful of vacancies in a unit have to be filled 2 000 and more men would apply.

Col Hanekom outlined details of the force and stressed that there were seven full-time battalions—six of them in the operational area alone—now in operation to 27 area forces, the South West African equivalent of the

commando units. A full brigade are citizen force men with 10 airforce squadrons and a parabat battalion unit.

In the operational area, service is on a voluntary basis. Only in the centre and south is conscription enforced.

A medical call is in the process of being established.

He said it was not possible to say at this stage what the role would be of direct South African forces if, and when, independence came.

Meanwhile "operation buttermilk" is under way, registering all men under the age of 55 for "dad's army" training to be started soon.

"As the South West African territory force goes forward, more and more South Africans will be released from having to do border duty," he said.

cso: 3400/1073

#### BRIEFS

SOUTH AFRICAN PLANS FOR CAPRIVI--Harare--South Africa intends to declare the province of Caprivi, located in northeastern Namibia, an "independent state" and separate it from the occupied territory, secret plans having already been prepared for this. This plan provides for the installation in this region of a puppet government under the direction of the so-called South African commissioner for Caprivi, L.W. Kruger. This information was given in a statement by the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) published Tuesday in Harare. For geopolitical strategic-military reasons, the strip surrounded by Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana would be turned into an enclave controlled by Pretoria. South Africa thereby wants to insure a strategically favorable position from which it could carry out aggressive actions against neighboring countries. At the present time, the South African Government is enlarging its base in Mpacha, located in Caprivi Province, transforming it into a gigantic military base. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Jun 85 p 12] 8711

cso: 3442/338

RWANDA

#### BRIEFS

ARMS CONTRACT WITH FRANCE--A major armaments contract has been signed with France. This contract covers: 600 FAMAS 5.56 assault rifles and their ammunition; two Aerospatiale single-engine Ecureuil helicopters equipped with EAS Attal surveillance systems and one of them with a GiAT model 621 20mm cannon; 5 Gazelle helicopters, including 3 armed with Brandt rocket launchers and Hot missiles;; Euromissile Milan anti-tank missiles; Brandt mortars; 2 CMN model P-400 patrol boats, 4 ACMAT ALM light armoured 4 x 4 vehicls; 1 ATR-42 military transport aircraft; 80 Auverland 4 x 4 light personnel carriers, model SG200/250; 24 Panhard vehicles; including 4 Kriss 6 x 6 air defence reconnaisance vehicles, 6 Panhard Sagaie armoured vehicles, 2 of them with petrol engines equipped with a SAMM TTB-190 turret and 14 VBL light armoured vehicles for intelligence, command and air defence radar platforms; RVI trucks and vehicles, models PJM-95E, TRM-2000, TRM-4000 and TRM-12000; 75 Peugeot model P-4 short and long chassis light personnel carriers; Alkan aerospace equipment; Thomson-CSF transceivers; Manurhin MR-73 revolvers; Simoneau fast patrol boats. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOUNRAL in English Aug 85 p 24]

NEW OIL DEPOSIT--ELF Gabon, an affiliate of the ELF Aquitaine group, has discovered a new oil deposit off the Gabon coast about 17km west of Port-Gentil, the company disclosed in Paris on May 22. During production tests, a flow of 600 c.u.m. of oil per day was obtained. Extra appraisal work will be necessary to establish the commercial value of this discovery, since the deposit is situated at an average depth of 150m. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Aug 85 p 24]

CSO: 3400/1011

SENEGAL

#### INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE CALLED HISTORICAL NECESSITY

Dakar L'UNITE POUR LE SOCIALISME in French Jul 85 pp 3-7

[Text] The official newspaper of the Socialist Party today inaugurates a new feature section entitled "Unity Forum," which is intended as a gathering place where Senegal's intellectuals and political men -- whatever their ideological convictions -- can get together to consider the great national issues on a continuing basis in a healthy, free, and open exchange of ideas.

Right now, when we are facing grave issues and harsh challenges, our democracy can no longer afford the suffocating inertia that has afflicted it of late: this is one reason to perceive in this forum an initiative in response to President Abdou Diouf's call to all political forces and to all men of good will in this nation to seek a consensus as to how to deal with these problems.

"Dialogue among the political parties: a historical necessity," is the leitmotif for the gathering, under the direction of Babacar Sine and Amadou Matho Nndiaye, university professors and political men of unquestioned intellectual integrity: Professor Moustapha Kasse, Serigne Diop, jurist and deputy member of the Senegalese Socialist Party (PDS), and Professor Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu.

The debate reported here was monitored by Mansour Sow, Sidy Dieng, and Souleymane Diop.

#### Babacar Sine

The situation in Senegal, if I may sum it up (as I see it, of course) is one of political pluralism. Let's say rather one of atomized political representation. We have, in this little country, something like 16 political parties, and this is a sign of the times in Africa now, in that everywhere else a monolithic pattern of representation prevails, but in Senegal we permit ourselves the luxury of widely disparate representation. First, are these myriad forces all political parties? Might they not be, I wonder, outlets for the expression of nuances, shadings (since, sociologically speaking, political forces are spokesmen for deep undercurrents in a society )? And the parties' role is to bring up "to the surface of things" the deep sensitivities they discern

Secondly, on reading their economic programs, you see that they all strive to build national economies that would be independent. They also seek to devise a cultural matrix that would make it possible to stand up against all outside aggression... I could go on.

Yet, all these examples embody absolutely unique fundamental elements, and they are given identical formulation in the party programs. Now: what divides these parties? We think it might be their positions vis-a-vis the exercise of power, through criticism of management at certain points, and I get the very strong impression that from this point of view, something can indeed be done. I mean something that could really be a kind of dynamic revival of Senegalese political life. Personally, that leads me to ask this question: why is dialogue a necessity right now?

In the second place, we can see the "how" of it -- how, that is, in full freedom -- to figure out a way to make dialogue not merely an abstract concept, but how to make it tangible, material, specifically by establishing a rapport among the forces involved, by which I mean the principal protagonists for a rational approach. And, lastly, to see how to set up that dialogue in such a way as to make it, or try to make it, a permanent fixture, by which I mean a formula that will allow this dialogue to lead, really, to absolutely concrete things, so that both sides can reach agreement as to what the political parties can actually do together.

### Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu

I should like to make a few very brief remarks about what has just been said. First, I agree completely with the analysis of the convergences in the party programs, and also with Babacar Sine's very brilliant description of the political forces in Senegal.

In my humble opinion, however, it seems to me that we need two solutions, which would be simultaneously a tentative response to the question Professor Kasse just raised, and which would be one way of looking practically and sensibly at ways in which these issues might be resolved.

It seems to me, first of all, that resumption of the ideological debate is indispensable. I believe that one of the causes of the atomization of our political forces is that ideological questions have been shelved. I believe that the time has come for an all-out ideological offensive, beginning -- why not? -- with the dominant party. Perhaps we shall have to redefine the content of democratic socialism: until we do so, we are relying on a handful of givens. Does socialism's content never change? What are its new doctrinal orientations? etc.

This fundamental debate, this ideological debate does not seem to me to have so much as begun, yet it alone would occupy a lot of people and individuals and could provide outlets for a lot of energy. It would afford the dominant party and the other parties a chance to define themselves more clearly, and to get to know each other better. After all, if you are going to have a dialogue, the parties have to

at the political, parliamentary, and governmental levels as well. Senegal is really a multi-party system that has exploded, atomized and, what is worse, there is no dialogue between the dominant party (the SPS) and the other political parties. The PS -- let's say it frankly, maintains no convivial political relations with the others. And the others, too, if we look at the record of these last few years, cannot even manage to understand each other. The PDS, for example, has several times experimented with unity with other parties, but it cannot, as the first among the opposition parties, seem to attract and coalesce around itself the sort of front over which it might exert a hegemonic role, etc...And let's not even bother with the communist parties, whose relations with each other are closer kin to covert warfare than to those of dialogue and concertation.

It is even common knowledge that the issues over which they sometimes shed blood are far more serious than those over which they quarrel with the non-communist parties. In short, one gets the impression that the Senegalese political class, filtered through the parties that shape its rhetoric, is extremely divided, and that, seen from the outside, the division is deep indeed. not know whether you share this view and I believe that the main thing is to find out precisely where these differences come from and how we could put together some sort of political cohabitation, considering that even the great democracies, in France, in Europe, etc., enjoy ongoing dialogue between the opposition and the govern-I believe that the measure of a democracy is the degree to which it maintains, regardless of differences, an ongoing dialogue among the various political forces that drive it. That is truly the hallmark of the major democracies.

We are not, after all, still in some kind of democratic retardation or underdevelopment, to the degree that the parties we have are so touchy and sensitive that they cannot even perceive the possibility of talking to anybody else. Which means that the great national issues, the concepts put forward by the government (the national about-face, unity, etc.), the reaching out are all eyed as suspicious traps, although [such openness] is a historical necessity if we are to reach a situation and a set of perspectives that are a lot clearer to the Senegalese people.

#### Mansour Sow

I should like to add to what Babacar Sine has just said and at the same time try to get the debate moving by posing some specific questions. There have indeed been calls from the Socialist Party to some sort of mutual agreement. What we might properly decry as a weakness in these appeals is perhaps the absence of concrete proposals, of a platform, of a kind of contract for concertation explicit enough that people could use it as a basis for refusal or acceptance. Even so, making those appeals reflects some credit on the P.S.

The quesion, however, is what divides us, as opposed to what unites us? And what does unite us? What does divide us? Why can't we understand one another? I sometimes get the feeling that the Senegalese are trying to play a political game that runs counter to their culture. We often come into contact with people who are much more interested in the clash of individuals than in that of ideas, an attitude that often chills the spontaneous elan that could move the other to begin a dialogue to find some common ground for understanding.

I believe that it is this cultural circuit-breaker that sometimes resonates at the political level and inhibits people's speaking freely and in total sincerity.

### P. Mustapha Kasse

I should like, as a follow-up to Babacar Sine's introduction, to confirm that most assuredly there is no lack of readiness to arrive at a dialogue. For there are objective reasons which can in fact bring pressure to bear in such a way as to enable the political forces in our country to come at least to the point of engaging in a dialogue that would straddle the divergencies we all see now and which have no reasonable explanation.

Let's say, for example, that I take the platform program point of view. I tell myself that there are political families which, from a platform point of view, are not so very far apart. Babacar Sine spoke just now of the Marxist groups. Of course, between the Independent Labor Party (PIT), between the Democratic League and other groups, there is a quarrel that has more to do with individuals than with history. It may even be a quarrel stemming from an assessment of ideological disagreements at the international level and which, for the moment, hinder the emergence of a unified and independently potent Marxist party that could very well be the winner in the big game of social transformation.

Babacar Sine

## (...) A worthy interlocutor!

#### Moustapha Kasse

#### Absolutely!

If we take the others now, I believe that the program dialectic is no different. I wonder, were we to take parties like the Democratic National Rally (RND), the Social Democrat Party (PDS) and even the Socialist Party, what would distinguish each of them from either of the others?

First of all, from the angle of their concepts of the world. In each of them there is a wholly patriotic view of our nation, and a patriotism that generally draws its support from the peasantry and has confidence in its ability to become the driving power than can revolutionize our productive capacities.

be acquainted, they have to know where their differences lie, and only party ideologies can enable these parties to convey their singularity. Once you do that, the parties that really have no reason for existing will disappear spontaneously. What I am saying is that if they have no contribution to make on the theoretical 1evel, it will signify that they are groups that were put together in the heat of the emotional climate that followed liberalization of political life, and that, as time passes, the political climate will tend to impose certain limits upon itself. Hence, if the debate is joined, if it takes place, it seems to me that in a second phase, we could begin moving by tiny steps toward consensus. could be the topic of a grand national debate (along the lines of the Etats-Generaux) on a specific question, in the course of which each party would make its contribution and with whose conclusions the government would have to reckon in its subsequent decisions on economic and social policy.

And then, in that way, the dialogue, instead of theoretical, would become practical. That means that on any given problem it would have to deal with the political parties with a clear-cut ideology and known doctribal positions, which would agree to debate on one or more national issues, bearing on culture, the economy, social concerns, etc,... and whose conclusions would affect the attitude of the government. Because it must also be said clearly that if there is debate and if, in the end, the conclusions reached are not applied, people will get the impression that their work has been for naught and they have wasted all that time and effort.

#### Souleymane Diop

Professor Nzouankeu has touched on some of the points in my remarks. I should like to add, however, that in my view, the dialogue among political parties can be properly taken over only by associative I cite the example of the Etats-Generaux for Education structures. and training which have brought together, without any formalities, all the country's political parties and made it possible to arrive at truly national conclusions involving all Senegalese cadres concerned in the matter of education. I have every reason to believe that this is the only possible way to organize structures of this kind, in that campaign rhetoric often drowns out the discourse of So pervasive is this syndrome that men of politics in our country. even when a man is capable of voicing an idea that could be of value to the nation, he is wondering whether or not his opponent is going to turn that idea to his own advantage. I can cite you the example of one party leader who stated publicly at a press conference that he had the solution to Senegal's economic recovery but that, should he reveal what it was, he would expose it to plagiarism by the party That, I think, is truly abysmal: that he should have the solution to save the nation from a peril that touches each of us, but should decide, for political reasons, to withold it amounts to fairly reprehensible conduct. Had somebody taken the initiative

of setting up a debate of the same kind as that of the Etats-Generaux on Education and Training on that issue, I believe that that political leader would have been constrained to reveal his solution. Nobody would have tried to rob him of credit for devising a solution that would, on the contrary, have of great benefit to all Senegalese.

#### Babacar Sine

I see that we have had quite a few interesting things said here. believe that the need for political dialogue was stated by Moustapha Kasse, and especially one question that seems to me very pertinent is the one that deals with how to bring that dialogue into being. And on that last point, the first thing to be done is to free up the ideological situation, by which I mean to mount an ideological offensive around the central issues (such as, for instance, democratic socialism) which will enable the various political entities to stake out their boundaries, to identify themselves, and thereby to discover just what it is that distinguishes them from one another. The next move is to shift to a finer screen and see what specific issue would be best suited for starting a dialogue -- say economic recovery, along the lines of what worked for the Etats Generaux on Education. And this was exactly where Suleymane Diop stepped into the breach to excoriate vote-catching second thoughts that so often distort moves toward unity or the national type approaches adopted by certain parties, and so on.... Except that right there I should like specifically to add that dialogue does not necessarily connotate unity. Dialogue may be an exchange of differences. It can be one of unity, or it can be one of difference. cerns us is that there is no dialogue at all on Senegal's political stage right now. Senegalese democracy is flawed on one score: the absence of inter-institutional dialogue among the parties, etc ... and that, however you look at it, is something that concerns us all.

### Serigne Diop

I believe there is a problem to start with: just what significance do we place upon the concept of dialogue? I say this because as of now, we can say that there is dialogue. You might call what we have superimposed monologues, but, in some eyes, that can be the whole purpose of dialogue. For example, letting every man say what he thinks. In Senegal, everybody is free, in his newspaper supporting the opposition in the Assembly, to state his views on this or that issue. And of course you could narrow the definition of dialogue to this aspect of the problem. That would not necessarily create a pathological situation in a democracy, provided that the object be taking turns at governing. Hence all these disparate discourses are discourses aimed at achieving power.

And if you listen to some of the speeches some leaders of the party in power are making, I think that what they are saying is not all that different from the point of view of dialogue on this or that concept. If this is the case, we cannot say that there is no dialogue in Senegal. There are countries where the opposition cannot even say what it thinks, cannot get a hearing for its design for society.

Hence even from this point of view, it cannot be said that there is no dialogue in Senegal. You can call it "superimposed monologues" if you like, but once you say "superimposed monologues," you put a whole different meaning on the word "dialogue." That is, you make it a discussion whose result may be a kind of synthesis of the different positions, a kind of compromise on the matters at issue. And when some say that we need a kind of Etats-Generaux, basically we are approaching yet another meaning of the word "dialogue." The reason is that if there is an Etats-Generaux on any issue whatsoever, in whatever area of discussion, the aim is to arrive at a result that is not the point of view of one person, but the product of a consensus, a sort of compromise, a common denominator in the wake of debate. But here again, that poses the problem of dialogue in another dimension.

Personally, though, I feel that we in Senegal have not yet desided what kind of dialogue we are talking about. Where should it lead? Is it to be a dialogue in which everybody speaks his piece? Or is it to be a dialogue at the conclusion of which the results would reflect different positions? I get the distinct feeling that there is a lack of clarity at that level.

As a university man -- by which I mean an inquirer, a seeker -- when I study the various speeches of Senegalese political men, those who are in power or those in the opposition, I get no sense of a clear perception of what the speaker wants. I should like to cite just two examples by way of illustration.

-- In France, between the right and the left, there is a permanent It is a debate whose fundamental purpose is not to arrive at a consensus. But the right criticizes the decisions of the left. Recently, a number of French government projects were the targets of sometimes quite violent position statements from the right. That kind of dialogue is a permanent fact of life in France. in France, within the left as well as within the right there is yet another debate: a debate among the parties of the left and a debate This time, the debate involving among the parties of the right. the UDF, the RPR, etc. ... is designed to arrive at something that can be accepted by all the right-wing forces. In the same way on the left, the purpose of the debate is to arrive at something that can, given time, serve as a unifying platform. Is this the kind of debate we need in Senegal? Is it perceived in Senegal as a necessity? There you have the crux of the problem.

-- In Italy, all the political forces, from right to left -- leaving the extremes out of it -- at a given moment, felt that they were all concerned with the survival of Italian democracy. When, thanks to

a certain number of activities on the part of this or that group, the political parties, from the PCI to the Christian Democrats, felt the need to do something for the survival of Italian democracy. That was the origin of the famous historic compromise that allowed a communist party to lendactive support to a Christian Democratic party in power, although, ideologically speaking, these two parties had nothing whatever in common. For my part, I feel that in Senegal all those who talk of debate, of discussions, by whom I mean the political leaders — in government or in the opposition — fail to project any very clear image of the perspective of a debate. Well, then, which zone of debate ought we to be in? In the Frenchstyle left-right debate? Or ought it to be debate along family lines in a political group, or one of all political families on the grounds of historical necessities?

I think that if you want to get debate started you have to begin with this preliminary groundwork, which is indispensable.

#### Babacar Sine

I should like to say a few words on that. If I have understood correctly, Serigne Diop raised the question of stakes. Are there really struggles for high stakes in Senegal involving historic emergencies, like those you cited with reference to Italy and even to

France, which might require the political parties to lay aside their individual differences to engage in convergent dialogue? that there is also an appeal from the government side that must not go unheeded. President Abdou Diouf has spoken of a national consensus, of a national turnaround. And the opposition withdrew to its tents in a sulk, charging that it is a trap, a snare, etc., while by comparison with the economic, political, and social situation in Senegal, which we are assumed to be cognizant of, the problems are such that we must perforce not only listen to each other, but at least, if we cannot listen to and understand each other, have points of view on the issues that concern us. For example, the problem of getting out of the crisis, which is a fundamental issue. we say that, today, the political parties have something to say to each other on this fundamental problem? Clearly, there are matters of great moment at stake.

#### Moutapha Kasse

I think we are making headway, as Babacar Sine said. We must perforce go back to that last point Serigne Diop made. There are two things: when, in France, we have a right-left opposition, it reflects some very specific social realities, with each side having its own model of a very specific society. I do not get the impression, though, that this is the case for the political class in Senegal. The fact is that it is the petty bourgeoisie in Senegal that tends to splinter. Once that happens, I no longer see that social differentiation that causes each layer of society to do battle for a given model and for given social relations. I get the very strong

impression that it is the different variants within the petty bourgeoisie, with their different generosities and different shades of patriotism that really want to take power. This is one basic fact that explains the problems cluttering the political scene in Sene-It is actually this lack of visible social differentiation that would lead men to fight for clear-cut ideological platforms. So the second thing is the struggle for the prize. I believe that if we want to infuse content into what we are going to do, we must know what we are doing and in the name of what we are going to do What I mean is that there are some dark clouds and threats hanging over our country that we must not overlook. First of all. there is the fact that we are in a global situation that is exceedingly complicated: a very deep crisis that is going to last a long I do not get the feeling that we are going to get out of this On the contrary: the crisis is going to be with crisis tomorrow. us for a long, long time to come. And, as a "peanut Republic." what can we do in this international situation? We are a little country that does not count for much when it comes to the international division of labor, and that is subject to some very serious constraints. I say to myself that we need something we can rally around to work out of the crisis and to find, at the same time, the kinds of modifications in our productive system, but also the kind of austerity we must unanimously accept. And I still say that the peoples who have emerged from underdevelopment have done it on a basis of unity, like, say, the USSR, Japan, etc. When you get down to it, it is not a shattered social fabric that is going to settle problems. In time of crisis, the government, in any country in the world, is an unpopular government. In crisis situations, no government can afford to be popular. I believe that this economic given is important.

There is also a climatic given, which goes by the name of climatic or climatological aberration. These, too, are environmental disturbances we cannot control. All we can do when we need rain is pray. I truly believe that we are in a cycle of drought whose end nobody can see and which, in fact, is going to destroy all our ef-This is still another given that compels us forts at production. to mobilize. The third given is the state. It is a state that we Babacar Sine has said so repeatedly: we do not have have imported. the social structure to bring this state to life. It is heavy, it is very costly, it is in need of fundamental changes. Can one party, even one that commands the popular vote, find enough support among the people to bring about the necessary changes? It was President Abdou Diouf who said that the last time he handed out the diplomas to the National School of Administration and Magistrature graduates. (ENAM).

Let's take the cultural charter, too. One way or another, we do talk about it. But is this cultural charter what we need to forge a national identity that will stand up, that will let us commit the means to face up to outside aggression, to assert ourselves as a people, to claim the right to decide for ourselves on the basis of our own concerns and in full independence, can one single fraction of a nation, even if it is a majority, do all that, and carry

it through to completion? I strenuously doubt that it could. We could cite any number of examples.

Lastly, there are some changes that are already in the works to deal with the short term, and we are working with the international financial organizations on those. What Nzouankeu just said is all very well, but we have to agree that these institutions are not to be found in socialism. Unfortunately, the crisis sometimes obliges us to go along with what they say. And by doing so, we risk saying things our financial backers do not want to hear. Well, the man who has the money has it all, as they say. In any case, what can you do if you are in a debtor economy? What kind of elbow-room do you have when you are dealing with international financial institutions?

That is why I think that a close second look at all these problems should lead us to a better understanding of the need for finding a really Senegalese solution. To say that we are Senegalese, to say that we want to be ourselves, means that we are feee to take our own view of things, amd also to say that at a given point there are enough threats on the horizon, enough problems that we must deal with together, so just give us the means to do it. not a challenge to the disparate views of either side. There has been talk of Etats-Generaux, have to find formulas. partial or sectorial. Fine. Maybe that will be one formula. But, back when we were all getting our independence, you all remember the huge political round-tables in our country. At the time, we were still in Paris, and we talked about it a great And all the political parties that took over on independence were single parties. It was not the BDS that moved in on independence, all alone, nor the PRA, nor yet the PAI: there were blocs that took over at independence because that was necessary. But the unity of those groups was based on preliminary contacts that had been made and established well ahead of time.

#### Babacar Sine

I should like to turn the floor over to Nzouankeu, but first I should like to tell Serigne Diop that what I often complain of is the fact that the opposition has no position. The government, for example, has an economic position that is very clear. Nzouankeu said just now that the conditions for unity, including ideological unity, are for the people to decide. Today, the Socialist government has an economic position, It has its recovery plan all wrapped up. You can think of it what you like, but it does exist. And it is stated in a language that is articulate, formulated, and stated in very precise documents. The Senegalese opposition, though, aside from the ideological reassessments with which we are all familiar, has nothing to say about the economy. And what is really serious is that it has no economic background. I say so frankly. One of the conditions for getting anywhere in debate or dialogue is that both partners read and understand the background papers. I do not

get the impression that the Marxists, for example, can understand the economic reports. I was saying so just the other day to my friend who is active in the LD-MPT [Democratic League--Movement for the Labor Party]: "You have no economic position! What is the League's economic position? Or the RND's economic position, in relation to our national effort? There is none. Except maybe a counter-speech. Yes, there is a counter-position. But the position itself, set forth clearly and articulately, does not exist. Until the opposition stops simply saying no and begins to take a position, we are not going to get anywhere!"

# Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu

I should like very quickly to reply to Serigne Diop that the two levels of dialogue he approves are not incompatible. I do not think that there is any need to make a hard choice between the two levels: the level of criticizing for criticism's sake, even for campaign purposes, and the level of dialogue in view of concerted action.

I say this because I am deeply attached to the multi-party system. I personally believe that pluralist system is superior to the single-party system. If the single-party system worked, we should have more examples of it around us. I cannot see, in Africa, that system's getting us through this crisis. If there is no talk of crisis elsewhere, it is because there is none. Because, as you just said, the opposition has not even the right to say so. Therefore we have to be very clear about this. Our efforts must not drag us back into a situation where we would have no more to say about it, under the pretext that we were unanimously in favor of the chosen goals.

Hence we can reconcile the two levels of discourse: the critical discourse that throws a spotlight on the government and impels it to review its behavior, both in Parliament and in the press, and, along with it, a second-level dialogue that would consist of sitting down together and working out a number of objectives that would allow the partners who developed them -- why not? -- to govern together. Nowhere is it written that the goals emerging from the discussions cannot become shared goals for a government, as we have also seen goals that can be discussed between partners that support a government that may be a minority government by comparison with the body of forces that support it, if that is in the national interest.

To sum sup: in Senegal, it seems to me altogether feasible that, on the one hand, the opposition retain its enthusiasm and its criticism, on condition that the criticism is responsible and deserved, and that at the same time it work positively and work with the government to find points of agreement, so that ways can be found to organize the State on healthy foundations. Once that

happens, the question of governing together or supporting the government from outside becomes a purely political issue that could be settled at another level.

#### Mansour Sow

Since examples have been cited here, I am going to add another to show that the national interest often becomes a national commitment and can induce people to muffle their differences, so as to reach a given historic goal within a consensus that will bring the country out of crisis.

Just recently, on television, I watched an interview with the President of Mexico. When the interviewer expressed astonishment at the fact that in so little time -- just since his election -- the country had made very substantial progress toward recovery from crisis, he replied that those results had come about thanks to the concerted efforts of all of Mexico's political forces, which felt the historic need to set aside their differences in order to save the country.

I believe that in Senegal, all the political parties and groups are truly patriotic at heart, and place Senegal above all else. Given that, consensus is possible in response to the Spcialist Party's appeal. It is the historic duty of the opposition to respond to that appeal if we truly want to save our country.

# Sidy Dieng

I believe that all the political parties, without exception, must have a hand in organizing our national life. Dialogue, after all, does not signify unity. It merely enables us to advance in the move toward consensus, a consensus understood as a dialectic over the future.

President Abdou Diouf, since he became head of state, has repeatedly sought to bring the forces of patriotism and good will together, especially in his appeal for a national awakening, a consensus among all political forces, and the like, even though, be it said, there was no political crisis underlying those initiatives. I repeat: there has never been a political crisis that would justify President Diouf's demarche, or that would not allow the government to govern and the governed to be governed.

#### Babacar Sine

That was Lenin's criterion for revolution!

#### Sidy Dieng

Indeed it was! That means that the present government, were it not for its democratic notions, need not have bothered with appeals

for consensus. The simple fact is that the challenges we face -economic crisis, drought, etc...- are emergencies that involve
us all and which necessarily imply a dialogue among the political
forces. That would make way for a convergence among the platform
approaches of the various parties, if there is a program. Babacar
Sine said just a while ago that the opposition had no discourse.
I am wondering if the opposition that has no discourse does have
a program?

Babacar Sine

Serigne, I think that is directed at you...

Serigne Diop

Yes. Right now I have the best possible proof of what I call the inconsistencies of political discourse in Senegal. I shall go back to what I hear from across the table.

At the very time somebody says that there must be dialogue, somebody else says there is no need for dialogue. The minute somebody says we must unite on the essentials, somebody else says we must unite behind the president. The minute somebody mentions dialogue, everybody jumps on the opposition, saying that it has nothing to propose. How can you talk to somebody who has nothing to propose? That is what I call the inconsistencies in our political discourse.

# Souleymane Diop

We did not say that the opposition has nothing to propose. What we said was that it has not thus far proposed anything.

# Serigne Diop

Let's understand one another: once you move into this area of value judgments, debate becomes impossible. Debate is thwarted before it can begin. They tell you that you have nothing good, that you never do anything good, that you don't propose anything, and yet they summon you to dialogue.

That is what I find deplorable in Senegalese politicians of all stripes. I get the feeling that none of them has the courage to engage in a real political discourse. They hedge their bets when they say: "We must talk, but we're going to show them that we don't need them." Then the opposition comes back with: "If you won't talk, we are going to show you that right now you are in a crisis, and you cannot get out of it."

That is where I have another position: when you look at the history of mankind, those who govern Africa -- I allow myself this liberty as an intellectual, not as a politician -- compared with all those who have gone before, are the most mediocre political classes in the history of mankind.

By what standards do you judge a political class at any given point in time? By its ability to break out of a situation of historic challenge, whatever it be. For example, federalism as a system of government is a historic response in a given geo-political area at a given point in the history of a country. When you re-read the history of the Federal States, you realize that this is not some intellectual's brain-storm, but a formula hit upon as a way to find a practical solution to a challenge history had delivered to this or that human group.

Babacar Sine

You think, then, that our political class is mediocre?

Serigne Diop

Altogether mediocre! And I, unfortunately, am part of it.

In everything we have said here, we have implicitly referred to a model of government that we imported somewhere. And I have the feeling that it is right there that the political class — and even the intellectuals and thinkers — have failed to show much perspicacity in Africa.

As for me, I dream of a pluralistic model, as Nzouankeu called it, a discriminating model, in the sense of scrupulous respect for political pluralism. But -- and this is a fundamental choice -- in view of the historic challenges we face as Africans, I dream at the same time of a model of convergence that can go as far as to work out something on which the political forces can agree to shoulder responsibility together. For that kind of debate, though, you must first have the courage to admit that it is a necessity, and not just something to play games with.

# Moustapha Kasse

I thing that the inconsistencies Serigne Diop speaks of results -from political whipsawing. Before joining together, each party must define itself in terms of the other. What really happens is that the unity-oriented discourse is never broached. I get the very strong impression that there was no positive response when a president of the Republic said that there is a possibility of agreement around the essentials, when he said that it is possible to see, along the road that brings us together, what we really can do, what The PDS said it, too, at the Kaolack congress: we can do together. you said: "that there could be a government by contract. with the most votes would take over, and everybody would back it." That's one formula. But the problem is that we have failed to show any creativity in politics. Creativity in politics means forcing yourself to think for yourself and at the same time to think toward the emergence of an appropriate model, one that will adapt to the situations we face in the current crisis.

As I look around this table, I see nobody who speaks for the PDS, the PS, the PAI, or any party whatsoever. That means that we have come to the point where we have language that straddles all our individual convictions. Accordingly, if, tomorrow, those who govern us in government or in the ranks of the political parties were to do what we have done, were to sit down around this table, they might, perhaps, hit upon the likeliest formulas to bring us to a consensus, quite apart from flights of rhetoric. Such outbursts will always be with us, and, basically, we are always going to take positions vis-a-vis the government.

Once we reach the point where we consider nothing but our nation's interests, I am certain that discourse will very swiftly be restored. And it is this sort of convergence that we must undertake. President Abdou Diouf has taken the first step, and the rest must take steps as well.

### Serigne Diop

Let us not forget that the PDS, following the February 1973 elections, decided not to attend the National Assembly, a move that incidentally meant its absence from the opening of the legislature. Then came that great speech from President Abdou Diouf, and immediately the PDS political bureau met. You can well imagine, of course, what a delicate position it was for a political party to reasses such a political situation. The Political Bureau's decision was not only to respond favorably, but to authorize its secretary general to call on the president. Thus the head of state took one step, and an opposition party also took a significant step. What happened then, to stop everything? That is another problem. I believe, therefore, that we must not blame the opposition entirely for the halt.

#### Amadou Matho Ndiaye

I think there is enough blame for the stoppage to go around. First, for the opposition, which should not have interpreted the government's appeal to our country's political forces as a cry for help from an impotent government. Moustapha Kasse spoke of some of the immense difficulties and challenges that confront us, dangers that are indeed warrant for our mobilization. And it is no sign of mediocrity that there are contradictory voices in the Senegalese political arena. It has happened before in other countries, like Morocco, for instance, that the government and the opposition stilled their differences and formed ranks against perils so grave as a threat to territorial integrity. The Green March was an edifying example of consensus. Was it the same here, during the Gambian crisis, which was a major threat? I do not think so.

It must also be noted that the Socialist Party bears its share of the blame.

Did the PS have the skill to manage its secretary general's appeal? I do not think there were enough explanation and orientation sessions

to make sure that all members fully understood what was happening, what President Abdou Diouf's appeal for a consensus meant. That is understandable, when you reflect a moment on how hard it is to share power...

#### Babacar Sine

The government is going to have to "clean up its act" a little, if it wants to keep the communication channels open between itself and the opposition.

#### Serigne Diop

Well, then? Who has nothing to gain from this dialogue? Not the opposition.

### Amadou Matho Ndiaye

Let's talks straight: nobody could suspect President Abdou Diouf of being against democracy. The only problem is that he has his troops behind him, and who knows whether or not they have understood the full significance of what he was doing.

#### Serigne Diop

Actually, if you set out to analyze the sectors that do not stand to gain by a start at dialogue among the political forces in Senegal, you are certainly not going to find them in the opposition.

That is irrational. The opposition has nothing to gain by stalling dialogue.

Why? Because dialogue is already an accepted means for the opposition to make itself heard. Secondly, dialogue is its chance to raise the issues involved in the development of a process to which it cannot remain indifferent. For example, the democratization of the courts, the democratization of the administration, every iota of a dialogue involves the oposition. On the contrary, those whose interests are not served by such discussion, by the openness that is the thrust of all public dialogue, are certain segments of the party in power and I believe the president himself has admitted as much on occasion. I have analyzed some of his political speeches, especially those before some national councils of the Socialist Party...

#### Mamadou Matho Ndiaye

Serigne, I find it a little bit too easy to bring up this sort of problems and especially to assert that your argument has anything to do with the root of the problem. Let's talk now about that other root of the problem: as we all know, the Senegalese opposition has no stomach for dialogue. Within its own ranks, it cannot achieve unity, at least in its many efforts to take power away

from the socialist government. Why can't it manage to do that? And yet, it would have been greatly to its advantage to have done so, to have faced up to a socialist party with more support among the electorate and with a more solid structural base.

Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu

I think it is too simplistic to say that it is the government that does not seek dialogue!!!

Babacar Sine

We are going to wind this up.

I think that the massive burden of our contributions here is highly symptomatic, because the deeper we pushed into this debate, the more we became aware of the gaps, of the broad openings and approaches to the problems that concern us.

This dialogue must be structural. It must involve the various forces, be it a discriminating dialogue or a single-body dialogue. In any event, ideological discourse must be given a hearing, and the government itself must match its actions to its words by keeping the channels of communication open between itself and the opposition, which is the achievement of a real democracy. opposition, too, must play the game fair and square, and stop trying to engage the government in dialogue simply to entrap it. And while we are talking about shouldering specific responsibility -- the Gambia case, for example -- the opposition must demonstrate its national patriotism. Lastly, there is the matter of political Serigne talked about mediocrity in our political class: I think that is too harsh a word, although it does not shock me. Let's replace that, if you will, with democratic underdevelopment. After all, all of the great democracies are democracies of dialogue. In Senegal, dialogue between the government and the opposition does indeed exist, but it is too faint. And dialogue within the opposition ranks is difficult to get started.

I think we have not yet arrived at a democracy structured around dialogue. And yet such a consummation would be to everyone's advantage in the face of the threats that hang over us. There is not only the economic deficit, but also our miraculous democratic state that we must protect and preserve against the anti-secularist threats that are taking shape or speaking out here and there.

61.82

CSO: 3419/492

RADIO FREEDOM DEMANDS RELEASE OF BOESAK, MANDELA

EA311852 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 1930 GMT 30 Aug 85

[ANC radio commentary: "We Shall Not Be Intimidated Into Surrender"]

[Text] Compatriots, the brutal suppression of our peaceful march to the Pollsmoor Prison last Wednesday by the fascist Botha-Malan-Le-Grange regime must never be allowed to cow us down to submission, must never be allowed to deter us away from our continued demand for the immediate release of our imprisoned leaders as well as those who are presently under detention. In this regard it is a highly commendable act that hundreds more of our people went ahead again yesterday to march peacefully to the home of our detained leader Reverend Allan Boesak, whom the fascist kidnapped and locked him behind bars at a time when he was to lead the masses on the march to Pollsmoor, to express their solidarity with his family and continue to express their demand for his release.

Compatriots, we have to realize that the fascist Botha would indeed pride himself of having attained victory through his fascistic terror if we were to be intimidated to abandon this our legitimate demand for the release of our leaders. To force us to forget or fear to even think of our leaders and all those patriots whom he has thrown behind bars is precisely what his intentions are and were even on Wednesday when he mobilized almost his entire repressive forces to brutally suppress our peaceful march. We have to continue to demonstrate to the fascist that we have not been intimidated and we will never be intimidated into surrender.

We demand the release of our leaders and we demand them now. Mass action in demands of their immediate release must continue to the daily feature of the political struggle in our country till we achieve our objective. As Rev Boesak said, countrymen, just before his arrest, there is indeed no longer any reason for fear of the fascists' bullets and truncheons and whips, for we have been living with them as a daily feature for too long now. There is no longer any point of fearing to be shot or whipped by the fascist police and troops because of our mass action when we will still be shot and killed for doing nothing anyway. Botha and his fascist clique have declared war on us countrymen, on all the black people of this country, whether we remain passive or even engage in peaceful and nonviolent means of struggle.

Through their bullets, truncheons and [word indistinct], they have on their own shattered all hopes of living a normal or peaceful life in this country. For us, the only alternative is now to continue struggling and struggling and struggling till we defeat them and establish genuine peace in our country. We have indeed crossed the [word indistinct], as Botha said. For us there can no longer be any kind of life than to continue struggling, to continue challenging his fascist regime by making ourselves ungovernable and his criminal apartheid system unworkable. His brutal suppression of our peaceful nonviolent march should definitely impel us to move to a higher stage of our challenge against this regime. More and more of our mass action and our demands must now be coupled with militant armed action.

This brutal reaction to a peaceful march has slammed the door firmly to peace-ful nonviolent means of struggle only. A new [word indistinct] made now in our continued struggle against this fascist regime, an element of combined mass action with armed confrontation against Botha's bloodthirsty police, troops and puppets. Our strong voice, countrymen, for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Boesak, and all other patriots must now be made louder and clearer, not only by our militant chants during a peaceful march in the streets, but also by the staccato of machine guns and the powerful explosion of our patrol bombs and grenades.

We countrymen who saw our brothers and sisters being mercilessly whipped and shot at point-blank range by the cruel police and troops of Botha last Wednesday must be moved to hit back by all means in our power. The time is over now when those thugs of Botha would be left alone to carry out their sadism against us [words indistinct]. By the order of their masters they closed the possibility of any leniency on them. We must show Botha and his fascist cliques that their batons and whips have done nothing else but to anger and enrage us to action at a higher level. We are not going to surrender but to organize ourselves and be able to hit back more effectively. Our demands for the release of Mandela and all our leaders, Boesak, and others shall now continue to be the order of the day. We want those leaders released. We want them to be here amongst us. We want them all and we want them now.

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#### RADIO COMMENTS ON AIMS OF ALAN BOESAK

MB310903 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 31 Aug 85

# ["Spotlight? program]

[Text] Worldwide attention which has been focused on Dr Alan Boesak after his detention this week will no doubt be welcomed by him. Dr Boesak, patrol of the UDF [United Democratic Front] Protest movement in South Africa and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has been making his mark as a political headline catcher. His plans for staging an illegal march this week on the prison where Nelson Mandela is held were characteristic of his approach. His precise objectives were obscured. Evidently he wished to make a political martyr of himself knowing that if he went ahead it would be the duty of the police to arrest him. His threat that he intended to turn South Africa on its head through the march was not only obscure but sinister.

A shrewd political operator like Dr Alan Boesak could not be unaware of the revolutionary undertones of his actions. He knew that such a statement linked to the highly publicized provocation of an illegal march, and taking into account the ideology of violence espoused by the man on whose behalf he wished to march, would certainly convey to the world a revolutionary message, and he must have known that the message would be seen to have been inspired directly by himself.

Dr Boesak, as the man who regularly complains of a total lack of freedom in his country, has used his freedom in the past to remarkable affect. In his travels abroad his incessant campaigning for economic measures against South Africa is almost the most innocuous of the bizarre ways by which he demonstrates the freedom of speech he enjoys. In Britain a fortnight ago he came up once again with one of his favorite accusations, that whites were the spiritual children of Hitler, and that genocide was being practiced in South Africa, going so far that another participant in the TV program, Mrs Helen Suzman, felt constrained to contradict him.

At mass meetings inside South Africa he has propagated an intensification of what he calls resistance, while ignoring the context of calculated violence that has characterized much of the unrest. He has no scruples about accusing the police of murder in acting against rioters, yet he regularly speaks in support of those very radicals from whose ranks have come the (?savages) who

have mutilated and murdered black policemen, town councillors, and businessmen and their relatives, not to mention the so-called collaborators whose only crime often seems to be their presence at a scene where the bloodlust of the mob demands a victim.

If Dr Alan Boesak is concerned about peace and reconciliation and the democratic aspirations of the people, he has strange ways of showing it. Plainthinking people will draw quite different conclusions from his behavior.

SOVIET LISTENING POSTS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES SEEN AS THREAT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Aug 85 p 21

[Article by Stephan Terblanche]

#### RUSSIA has now circled South Africa with a string of [Text] embassies which are believed to be highly sophisticated surveillance posts.

The last link in the Red spy chain is the new ambassador to Lesotho. Western observers, including South Africa, have noted that the Lesotho appointment is far too senior for the country.

He is a senior Kremlin man previously kicked out of two Western countries for al-

legedly spying for the notorious KGB.

Observers this week pointed out that the network of Soviet embassies around South Africa is manned by large numbers of peo-ple, headed by senior Communist Party men and stocked with sophisticated equipment. The other embassies are in Luanda, Gabor-

one, Lusaka, Harare and Maputo.
Intelligence sources claim the embassies, especially in Gaborone and Lusaka, are out of all proportion to the possible diplomatic activity in which the Soviets could engage in

these countries.

They believe this is also the case in Lesotho where there are no Soviet residents, very little trade and no other links with the Soviet Union.

# Mining

The enlarged and up-graded Maseru embassy is seen by observers as the forward bastion for Russian-inspired subversion.

It will be used mainly for electronic surveillance of South Africa with special interest probably being shown in South Africa's military capabilities and the underground mining technology. mining technology.

The Soviet Union previously established a resident diplomatic mission in Maseru in 1983. However, the mission was staffed by

1983. However, the mission was statted by low-ranking diplomats while the Soviet ambassador in Maputo, Mr Yuri Sepeliov, acted as non-resident ambassador.

The embassy in Maseru is staffed by 10 officials. Normally the head of a diplomatic mission is not a member of the KGB, but the Soviets do tend to load their embassies with KGB men as well as members of the military intelligence organisation, the GRU.

intelligence organisation, the GRU.
An intelligence profile on the new Maserubased ambassador, Mr Vladimir Ivanovich Gavryushkin, shows that he was born on December 5 1924 in Ryazan Oblast in the

Soviet Union.

He is married, has a son and daughter, and

is said to speak very good English.
He studied economics at Moscow University and then joined the Department of Economic Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

His first foreign posting was to the Soviet Embassy in London from 1962 to 1968 where he served as second secretary in the econom-

ic section.

His task was managing relations with the communist party and other marxist groups

In 1968 he was one of 40 Soviet officials ordered out of the country by the British Government after an official had been

caught spying.

From there he was sent to a more senior post in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Can-ada, where he served from 1977 to 1980.

In this post Mr Gavryushkin was responsi-ble for liaison between the Soviet Embassy and the Canadian Communist Party and was

and the Canadian Communist Farty and was given special responsibility for Canadian trade unions and political parties. In 1980 he was promoted to consul-general in Montreal, where he was one of 17 Russians thrown out of the country between 1978 and 1982, again in connection with alleged espio-

nage activities He was called back to Moscow where he became chief of directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - a post he has held until

It is also known that Mr Gavryushkin is a senior member of the international department of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party — whose members are usually closely linked to the KGB and who work closely with foreign communist par-

Other Soviet involvement in Southern

Africa is centred in:

• Luanda, where the USSR has a very large embassy with a consulate in Lobito. The Soviets maintain a large naval presence in Angola and the entire Soviet intelligence operation in Southern Africa is controlled by the KGB and GRU from Luanda. The embassy is headed by Mr A Kalinin and has a staff

# 'Specialists'

There are also 12 Soviet army generals in Angola who control some 14 000 Cubaus and

14 000 East Bloc "specialists" in the country.

• Lusaka, where the Soviets have another large embassy with a senior Red army offi-cer as military attache.

The embassy is headed by Mr V Cherendik and has a staff of 130. Mr Cherendik is a general in the KGB who has been expelled from three African countries.

Gaborone, which according to a French intelligence report, houses a huge KGB base in the Soviet Embassy. According to the report there are up to 250 KGB and GRU agents in the embassy. But local sources put the figure at 60 people. A new ambassador was appointed just prior to the recent South African commando raid. He is Mr C Krivda, who has a staff of 60.

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• Harare, where embassy staff has in recent months increased from 17 to 65. The ambassador is Mr G Ter-Gazaryantz

 Maputo, which hosts a large Soviet Embassy and several hundred Soviet "advisers'

and ships of the Red navy.

The ambassador, Mr Sepellov, was kicked out of Britain in 1971. This embassy has a staff of 100.

BBC INTERVIEWS RSA OPPOSITION LEADER ON TROUBLES

MB301243 London BBC World Service in English 0709 GMT 30 Aug 85

[From the "24 Hours" program]

[Text] In South Africa, 20 people are reported to have been killed and more than 150 injured amid continuing unrest. The violence in almost every township around Cape Town flared after police forcibly prevented a planner protest march on Wednesday to the prison where the black nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, is held. Industrial and business leaders have appealed to the government to begin negotiations with black leaders and to end the state of emergency which has thrown the country's foreign exchanges and stock markets into crisis. The capital going from South Africa and the fall of the rand brought the governor of the South African Reserve Bank to London for urgent talks yesterday about debt repayments. Well, this weekend, the country's main white antiapartheid party, the Progressive Federal Party, holds its annual conference in Durban and John Heidenhow sought the reaction of the party's leader, Dr van zyl Slabbert, to South Africa's troubles.

[Slabbert] The action is simply a sign of the lack of confidence in the domestic situation from business and that the government is trying to (?clamp) down and trying to stabilize the situation. I think, unless the government manages to come forward with some kind of political package that makes sense to the people here, it is unlikely that the situation is going to stabilize quickly.

[Heidenhow] And what in your view should that package contain?

[Slabbert] Well, that package as a minimum should contain a declaration of intent in which the government says that it is prepared to negotiate one constitution based on the common citizenship for everybody, and that it is prepared to talk to the community leaders in the different townships and lift the state of emergency and try to find out how to redress the specific problems in these different communities, and in addition to that to release somebody like Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally and see whether they can play some kind of role in negotiating a better situation.

[Heidenhow] And if you look back at Mr Botha, the state president's Durban speech, how far do you think he moved in any of these directions?

[Slabbert] In a sense, what the speech did was to tell us again what he is cautiously prepared to move away from, but he was not prepared to spell out where he is prepared to move toward.

[Heidenhow] Some commentators of course speak of him as constrained by the need to take his party with him and not to cause too much of a backlash on the extreme right. Would you expect that there are limits politically to what he can do?

[Slabbert] There is an overstatement of the so-called right wing holding him back. The president hasn't been particularly concerned about the right wing in the past, for example, when announcing his initiative. My great worry is that the right wing can become a violent factor not so much in the electoral threat, but the violent sector, if the unrest continues, and there is no clear demonstration on the part of the government that it has got the cooperation of the majority of the people for its reform program, because then we lose in both sides.

[Heidenhow] In the Western [words indistinct] continuing debates on sanctions, what is your own position on sanctions, their lively effectiveness in bringing the apartheid system to an end?

[Slabbert] Sanctions is not really the problem here. The problem here is that people have lost confidence in the economy in any case. You don't really need sanctions if you want people to disinvest. They disinvest because they don't believe that there is a sufficient degree of stability to carry on with economic activity. So, unless something is done to restore confidence in that stability, the sanctions debate becomes purely irrelevant.

[Heidenhow] Can a small party like yours really have any influence at all on the political situation at the moment?

[Slabbert] I think we are fairly strategically placed to the extent that the government is increasingly going to clamp down on all forms of extraparliamentary protest or extraparliamentary organizations. The responsibility will increase on us. This shows that the middle ground can still hold in a situation of increasing polarization, and what we are trying to do is to launch a convention alliance movement which can bring together people who must visibly demonstrate to the government that they are opposed to apartheid and all that it stands for and at same time also opposed to violence as a means either to maintain or to change the status quo.

The government says it's committed to reform. We are (?in the best position) to say, well to what extent are you prepared to put your money where your mouth is. Now unless those of us who are opposed to apartheid and opposed to violence can demonstrate our opposition to the government and to show how it can be dismantled relatively peacefully, I am afraid violence will become the order of the day.

CSO: 3400/1038

 $C_{i}^{1} \rightarrow C_{i}^{2}$ 

PFP SPOKESMAN WARNS OF RESTRICTIONS ON JOURNALISTS

MB311115 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Aug 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by David Braun, political correspondent]

[Text] Durban--A massive clamp on South African and foreign journalists is in the offing, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on the media, Mr David Dalling, warned last night.

This could mean the revival of the recommendations of the Steyn Commission, including a register for journalists, and a cutting of the number of foreign media representatives in the country, he predicted.

Dr Dalling gave his warning at the PFP federal congress in Durban.

Speaking in a debate on the SABC Mr Dalling said the government was intent on taking the measures on the basis that if it could not control the current unrest, it could at least stop the news getting out.

Already the press had to reply largely on police handouts.

The frequency of these releases had been cut down and newsmen were being barred from certain areas, he said.

Earlier, delegates rejected a resolution calling for an advertising boycott of the SABC in retaliation for its "misuse and abuse" of the airwaves.

Mr Dalling told the congress the PFP could not support a boycott of a public corporation.

He urged delegates to write letters to the press and the SABC whenever the SABC displayed inaccuracy and bias.

One delegate said people who came into contact with residents of black townships often had the feeling, when they watched television, that they were living on another planet.

cso: 3400/1038

SABC HEAD DEFENDS COVERAGE OF UNREST

OF THE STREET

MB041847 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1753 GMT 4 Sep: 85

[Text] Johannesburg, 4 Sept SAPA--The SABC was satisfied that it was not "playing down" unrest news, the corporation's director-general, Mr Riaan Eksteen, said today.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, he said the SABC would not give people who engaged in violence or "terrorism" an opportunity to put their view across to a wider public.

"The SABC will under no circumstances co-produce violence and revolution," he said, adding that the indiscriminate screening of violence could lead to more violence.

The corporation felt an obligation not to put public "life, limb and property" at risk by "succumbing... to the misplaced... obligation to sensationalise or to publish and be dammed."

Mr Eksteen said the SABC's "overriding responsibility" was to inform the public "sorberty and factually" about events and developments that may affect their lives and livelihood.

"As regards the unrest situation, in corporation discharges this responsibility in such a way that it does not become an instrument for inciting or promoting any violence or disruption."

The SABC was not prepared to aid in the promotion of violence, disruption or revolution or to provide a platform for those wishing to do so.

This, however, does not impair its (the SABC's) further obligations to inform the public on violent or revolutionary action.

As a broadcaster, the SABC has a specific social responsibility. While realising that violence and terrorism take place, the SABC's policy is that it will not offer the perpetrators of violence and terrorism any opportunity to propagate their views and actions to a wider public.

They would not enjoy this opportunity by using conventional channels of democratic politics: it is the use of violence, intimidation and terrorism that gives them that platform.

"This the SABC will deny them, thus not furthering their aims on both radio and television," Mr Eksteen said.

The SABC gave facts but avoided "sensationalism and emotionalism."

This applied expecially to visual reporting,"Mr Eksteen said, "as action coverage often creates heat without shedding light or imparting information."

On television, the SABC reports factually in the written word and used appropriate visual material to give viewers a picture of what is happening.

In obtaining and using visual material, tow factors are kept in mind, viz that the mere presence of a camera in an overheated situation can spur on violence and that the indiscriminate screening of violence can lead to more violence.

For these reasons the SABC refuses to join sensation seekers while serious attempts are being made to restore calm and normality in unrest areas.

Mr Eksteen said feedback from SABC audiences "bears out the confidence that we respect the right to know without ignoring the right not to be intimidated, terrorised or murdered."

The SABC feels an obligation not to put public life, limb and property at risk by succumbing to the misplaced craft obligation to sensationalise or to publish and be damned.

The SABC is therefore satisfied that it is not playing down unrest news in the current overheated situation," Mr Eksteen said.

cso: 3400/1058

#### BUTHELEZI TELLS JEWISH GROUP HE WILL CONTINUE POLICIES

MB051956 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1938 GMT 5 Sep 85

[Text] Johannesburg, 5 Sept, SAPA--South Africa was "walking through one of the darkest valleys in its history" and only fools would dare predict what would happen next, the Kwazulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a gathering of Jewish leaders in Johannesburg tonight.

"The state president dares not tell us what he thinks will or should happen next because he himself does not know," he said.

Chief Buthelezi, who returned last week from a formal visit to Israel, was guest of honour at a South African Zionist Federation dinner.

He said that, despite the "explosive certainty prevailing," black people were convinced victory would be theirs and that, in the end, they would create "a beautiful society" that would be respected in the international community.

His visit to Israel had strengthened his resolve to hold to his beliefs and to pursue his present tactics and strategies in defiance of "the forces of oppression" which distorted minds and values and led people to opt voluntarily for killing as a political weapon.

Chief Buthelezi said he had often been asked whether South Africa's 120,000 Jews were not a vulnerable minority who had to be careful about what they said and who had, in political matters, "to avoid rocking the boat."

His response was to recall that a former Israeli ambassador to South Africa, Mr Itzhak Unna, had often spoken forthrightly about the South African race problem. For example, when Mr Unna reacted to the ejecting of people from the Crossroads squatter camp, many Jewish South Africans had contacted him to point out he was jeopardising the position of Jews in South Africa by saying things which displeased the government.

The Kwazulu chief minister said his own response to such cautions was a sharp reminder that South African Jews had as much right to be in the country as any other South African citizen.

Citing the National Party's wartime campaign against Jewish immigration, he said "incipient white anti-semitism" could not be used "as a pretext for

standing up and being counted when it comes to the big human battle for black human rights and human dignity being waged in South Africa." Chief Buthelezi said he had tried to make the people of Israel realise that the South African Jewish community had its saints and sinners like any other community.

"We have, for example," he said, "rowley Arenstein (the Durban former attorney who has been banned for longer than anyone else in the country) who represents the best attributes of a champion for justice on the one hand, and on the other hand we have Mr Joe Slovo heading Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], the military wing of the external mission of ANC."

Chief Buthelezi asked Jews and Zulus to draw together and strengthen each other in the common task they faced as citizens of South Africa.

"What I say of the Zulus applies equally to other African ethnic groups,"
Chief Buthelezi said, "and what I say of Jews equally applies to other white
ethnic groups. The fact that the National Party has for 37 years abused ethnicity is no reason why we cannot use it to build a great South Africanism."

He had returned from Israel strengthened in his belief that the human spirit was unconquerable.

"I am filled with determination to continue doing what I am doing, for we will certainly overcome in South Africa as the people of Israel did."

RADIO SAYS SEPARATISM, INEQUALITY LINKS MUST BE BROKEN

MB051055 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 5 Sep 85

[Station commentary: "Separatism and Inequality"]

[Text] That the one-sided emphasis on separtism in South Africa's past has itself been an important cause of inequalities among ethnic groups is a statement of the obvious. Many of the mechanisms designed to implement the policy have actually placed the black person at a huge disadvantage in competing with others to make his own mark in life, and unequal opportunities from the time he entered school and lasting all through his life in almost every facet of it have imposed severe if not absolute limits on the highest socioeconomic position he might aspire to.

That may be self-evident to most. What many whites seem unaware of, however, are its political implications, in particular the extent to which it has contributed to the growth of an unstable and even revolutionary climate in this country.

This week Dr H.S. Marais, vice president of the Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC], drew attention to the danger, noting that nowhere in the world were the differences between rich and poor greater than in South Africa. Dr Marais said it had been proved that the current violence was linked to blacks comparing their standard of living with that of whites, and their resultant dissatisfaction.

Considerable research has been done on the connection between conflict and institutionalized inequality in South Africa. The recent report of the HSRC investigation of intergroup relations, of which Dr Marais was chairman, contains sombre reading. It found that apartheid was being applied more to the advantage of whites than of the other groups, and that those groups experienced a serious restriction on their social and economic mobility. It referred to the fact that by far the greatest conflict potential in multiethnic societies was created when lower social positions were arbitrarily and categorically assigned to people purely on the grounds of certain characteristics, and it warned that the manifest link between separatism and inequality in this country was an almost inevitable cause of potentially serious conflict. Obviously if either group security or national stability are to be secured in South Africa, that link will have to be broken.

The HSRC study came up with a number of guidelines. Economic growth should be so directed as to lead to greater equality. To facilitate that, access to economic resources should not be determined by membership of a particular group. The last remains of statutory job reservation had to be dealt with urgently. Equal access to the skilled labor market also required equality in the provision of education. The Group Areas Act should not regulate the use of industrial and commercial land, and the informal business sector should be fully deregulated.

These requirements relate to particular areas of social and economic activity, areas in which separatist statutory measures operate to the disadvantage of people of color. That the measures are therefore regarded as constituting a legal framework for perpetuating inequality is not surprising. That they should give rise to anger, unrest and violence is hardly less so. It is in the vital interests of every community in this country that they are seen to be the serious obstacles to peace and security which they are, and are dealt with expeditiously.

cso: 3400/1058

# COMMENTARY NOTES SANCTIONS HELPED ARMS INDUSTRY

MB051111 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 5 Sep 85

[Station commentary: "Self-Sufficiency in Arms Production"]

[Text] As war pressures on South Africa increase and threats of sanctions mount, the country is rapidly approaching self-sufficiency and total independence in military hardware production. In addition the South African arms industry has reached the stage where it offers its combat-proven products on the world markets. This has been stated by the South African minister of defense, General Magnus Malan at a price giving ceremony of ARMSCOR, this country's armaments manufacturing industry. He recounted the progress made in arms independence since the first move towards an international arms embargo was muted in the 1960's. It was then, he said, that South Africa initiated an armaments industry, and when in 1977 the United Nations finally passed the resolution enforcing a total arms embargo by Western countries, South Africa was prepared to meet the challenge.

General Maln added, we are entirely self-sufficient in so far as conception, design and development are concerned. What we still need from outside is not so much military equipment as such, but tools and technical assistance. Within the foreseable future even these will not be required from outside.

This is indeed an impressive achievement, and the irony is that it was actually the sanctions campaign aimed at weakening South Africa that forced this country into becoming a leading manufacturer and exporter of sophisticated weaponry. An added advantage is that ARMSCOR's armaments have been developed specifically for African conditions. The full range of military vehicles has been designed for long range operation over rugged terrain, high mobility under conditions of intense heat and cold, and high fire power coupled with exceptional reliability.

Since 1981 ARMSCOR has been supplying the total ammunition needs of the SADF, consisting of more than 140 different types. South Africa also manufactures several missile systems as well as Impala trainer and strike aircraft, Bosbok reconnoisance and Kudu cargo planes. Among the arms South Africa offers the world are Ratel infantry assault vehicles, Samuez heavy duty trucks, troop carriers, ambulances, field kitchens, mobile operating theatres, gun tractors and recovery vehicles. (?lupal) troop carriers, armored cars, naval assault

craft, the advanced G-5 and G-6 155 mm field artillery, several advanced combat rifles and many other items of equipment from parachutes and uniforms to computors and [word indistinct] optic equipment.

In the context of Africa, South Africa is a superpower, but its military strength has not been developed for agression but seeks only to protect itself against aggression and has repeatedly declared its preparedness to enter into non-aggression pacts with any neighboring state. That remains South Africa's approach.

# SLABBERT SAYS SADF SHOULD BE KEPT OUT OF POLITICS

MB301438 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1009 GMT 30 Aug 85

[Text] Durban, Aug 30, SAPA--The defence force was being politically compromised by individuals at the top of the SADF command structure, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr van zyl Slabbert, said today.

He told his party's federal congress these individuals "traffic easily between politics and the civil service."

Dr Slabbert was opening the congress and devoted the major portion of his speech to the defence force and in particular the question of conscription and the role of the SADF in the townships and cross-border intervention.

He was deeply disturbed by top individuals who easily moved from the post of general to that of minister or ambassador.

"This kind of trafficking automatically compromises others politically in the defence force," he said.

"It is the exception where a soldier becomes a politician with success and to the benefit of the rest of society."

He refused to partake in any propaganda attempt that tried to present every youngster in uniform as a "goose-stepping fascist intent on preserving apartheid or killing blacks.

"Many of them are PFP sons, I have taught them and coached them in rugby."

He did not regard the SADF as a monolithic, unthinking organism at the disposal of the government. He knew there were people serving who disagreed with the government and who were sometimes deeply disturbed by what they were ordered to do.

"I believe very strongly that compulsory military conscription must go," he said. He would motivate this further in asking congress to ratify a federal council resolution later.

He preferred accontroversial and heated but honest debate on defence matters to the kind of "pseudo-patriotic posturing which so often typifies political comment on these matters."

He said he believed it to be of cardinal importance for the defence force to be above South Africa's internal conflict in the maintenance of law and order.

He called on the minister, General Magnus Malan, and his deputy, Mr Adriaan Volk, to deal with the situation level-headedly.

It did not help to say the defence force would only be involved in a supportive capacity as the temptation to go further and intervene was inescapably great.

There were already signs in this connection, which he had brought to the notice of Mr Volk.

The ordinary citizen regarded the police and defence force as differing vitally.

"The defence force fights an enemy. The police fight transgressors of the law.

"The defence force exterminates enemies--it kills them. The police force arrests transgressors of the law and brings them to court.

"The defence force wins or loses battles. The police force protects and restores law and order."

These different roles and functions were accepted in every community, especially in the West, as being vital for the maintenance of stability and order in a society.

"I want to say, however, that as the image of the defence force and the police is going to become vague and obscure to the average inhabitant of a black residential area, both the defence force and the police are going to suffer from this and their task is going to become increasingly difficult.

"The role of the defence force will become increasingly politicised and as a result it will become impossible to present it as a neutral shield behind which reform can take place."

The ideological appeal of the African National Congress would be strengthened in its so-called struggle for freedom.

Immediately, a question of "we" and "they" arose, with the role of the defence force changing into an ideology in that struggle.

This would also "Lebanise" the unrest, creating an atmosphere of siege similar to that which pertained to Northern Ireland, Lebanon and Cyprus.

Finally, it polarised relations between black and white because of compulsory white national service.

Turning to the defence force's role in foreign intervention, Dr Slabbert said he had, as had been the case with the Angolan invasion of the 1970's and the issue of SADF support for Renamo, been misled by the government about the SADF raid on so-called ANC houses in Gaborone.

He had been given to understand that the SADF attacked the people who had planned and executed the bomb attack on two members of parliament and that it had clear evidence of further attacks being planned.

Subsequently, it became clear there was no evidence to support this.

"The raid on Gaborone was an indiscriminate reprisal for an equally indiscriminate act of violence," he said.

"The incidents or issues are created by political decisions deliberately taken and executed at the top. It was the political heads who needed to be attacked," Dr Slabbert said.

"That is why I engage the minister and his chiefs of staff and state my party's point of view and protest against what we object to.

"I believe we have to continue to do so until our point of view prevails," Dr Slabbert said.

By drawing a distinction between attacking the political decisions controlling the SADF's actions and the SADF as an entity, he did not wish to indemnify particular actions and irregularities of the defence force.

The opposition had a role to expose and confront these wherever possible.

"But I draw this distinction to make it clear that as long as the possibility of constitutional reform exists in our or any other country, the defence force plays a role which has bi-partisan consequences for different parties, movements or pressure groups hoping to bring it about.

"Yes, it can and does provide a shield for the government to pursue its apartheid policies, but it also provides the same shield behind which others can oppose such policies in non-violent ways.

"The much maligned analogy of a shield is simply a shorthand way of saying that there can be no successful constitutional reform without some measurable degree of stability.

"If the manner in which the stability is provided becomes purely coercive and violent then obviously no constitutional reform is possible," Dr Slabbert said.

The shield could become increasingly controversial but as long as it provided stability in which an end conscription campaign rally could take place, it had bi-partisan consequences for society.

To the extent that constitutional reform succeeded, the bi-partisan consequences of the shield increased.

"As regards the role of the PFP, we wish to work exactly for that—a non-racial democracy, in which the defence force has maximum bi-partisan consequences for individuals and groups in society."

cso: 3400/1038

#### SADF DENIES DRAMATIC JUMP IN NUMBER OF RECRUITS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Sep 85 p 4

[Text]

THE South African Defence Force yesterday denied that there had been a "dramatic jump" in the number of young men failing to register for military service.

The SADF spokesman in Pretoria was responding to a statement by the press officer of the End Conscription Campaign, Mr David Shandler, who said the increase had occurred since the SADF entered the townships.

The SADF spokesman said:

"As was originally announced by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, a total of 7 589 persons failed to report initially for national service in January 1985."

"More than 6 000 of these persons were students who were automatically allocated to the July call-up, or received deferment on the grounds of studies."

A final total of 1 321 persons failed to report, of whom 890 did not advise the SADF of their change of address and did not receive call-up papers, he said.

"This has been rectified and they have since been reallocated to a later callup or have already reported," he said.

"Of the final balance of 431 persons, most were found to have been matric students who had failed and who returned to school to finish their studies."

Mr Shandler, of the End Conscription Campaign, said the drop in registrations showed that a growing number of Whites realised it was no good looking to the National Party for answers.

"They are hearing the cries of their fellow Black South Africans," he said.
— Sapa.

# VILJOEN WARNS OF BUILDUP OF AIR POWER IN NEIGHBORING STATES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Aug 85 p 13

[Article by Keith Adendroth]

[Text]

THE retiring chief of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, warned yesterday that the massive ongoing build-up of sophisticated air warfare systems in neighbouring states could "very easily" tip the scales against the Republic.

And if this happened, he said, the scale would also be tipped against the interests of the West.

Opening an international conference on air strategy, staged by the Institute for Strategic Studies of Pretoria University, General Viljoen said that at present the country's advanced technology still cancelled out physical advantages.

But it was imperative that the country maintain an air force capable of winning not yesterday's, but tomorrow's wars, "and technology can for the time being at least help to maintain that capability for South Africa", said General Viljoen.

It was known that the combined aircraft strength of "our not so friendly neighbours" had increased by about 200 percent since 1977.

These countries, which included Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania,

Zambia and Zimbabwe, had also extended their air defence weaponry.

In addition, the stockpiling and deployment air defence systems in the region tied in with the overall expansionist strategy of the Soviet Union on the subcontinent.

The conventional military threat to the Republic was mainly in a sudden reversal of the military balance in Southern Africa by the Soviet Union and its surrogates.

"The unabated proliferation of sophisticated air warfare systems could very easly tip the scale against South Africa and the interests of the West," said General Viljoen.

Meanwhile the revolutionary threat against South Africa and South West Africa depended largely on developments in aspects of the conventional threat.

"A disparity in the strength of air power on the conventional scale in favour of the Republic's hostile neighbours, could limit reprisals against terrorist bases in neighbouring countries," he said.

On technology, General Viljoen said that to determine the exact correlation of technology and strategy was a little like trying to decide which came first — the chicken or the egg.

Although modern technology had increased the hitting power of the defenders air defence systems, it had favoured the survival and to a lesser extent the power of the attacker.

This had been done by the introduction of electronic security, and counter measures.

Thus for the time being at least, technology could help to maintain the capability of the Republic.

#### BLACK MERCHANTS SPEAK ON EFFECT OF CURFEW

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 26 Aug 85 p 10

[Article by Ali Mphaki]

[Text] I

LIKE almost everybody else in the townships, the black entrepreneur is feeling the bite of the curfew regulations imposed through the state of emergency.

Hardest hit, are the 24-hour outlets, bar lounges, cinemas and shebeens.

The curfew does not allow people to be on the streets between 10 pm and 4 am, unless they have permission from the police.

Some people say this reminds them of the old days of prohibition, when Africans were not allowed to buy hard liquor. At the same time, most blacks had to be out of certain areas by 9 pm.

The ingenious methods that blacks used then to subvert these regulations, have become part of our folk-lore.

The latest curfew is stopping people from visiting shebeens and other nightspots, making life very difficult for the owners of such establishments.

Businessmen are the hardest hit. While they have had to run the gauntlet of attacks, looting and intimidation in times of unrest, they now find their working hours have been curbed.

The owner of the M'bokkies Bar Lounge in Dube, Mr Pat Mbatha, said: "This curfew is killing me. I cannot make a living any more. I am now working 2½ hours a day, because I have to close at 9.30 pm.

"I start working between 6 pm and 7 pm when people come back from work. With this curfew, most of my patrons in avoiding possible arrest for breaking the curfew, rather stay indoors.

been badly affected. It means my working week now amounts to 18½ hours. This makes me lose money," he said.

Even shops that close much earlier than 10 pm, are affected. The owners have to close much earlier, as there are problems of transporting staff home and making preparations for the next day's business. This takes time.

# Concern

Nema Tshabalala, manager of Carol's Supermarket in Moletsane, said: "The regulations are still not clear, hence we close earlier to be at home in time. I must say we are losing a lot of money."

One of the most respected businessmen in Soweto, Mr Richard Maponya, also showed furrows of concern on his forehead: "It does affect us particularly at the garage, because we are forced to close just before 10 pm, even if we wished to go on. We are losing business because of this."

Mr Lucky Michaels of the National Taverners Association (NTA) said his organisation was thinking of applying for permits for its patrons. "Shebeens thrive at night and once people are restricted, there will be a steady trickle of business till it dries up. We are going to apply for permits for patrons so that they can get here without fear," he said.

Brigadier Jan Coetzee, the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto, said: "Most residents would be able to get exemptions from the curfew if they need them for valid and legal reasons." It is the said the said they are sons."

Police have also said people attending parties, weddings and vigils, would not be interfered with, as long as they remain in the houses or yards.

This means they'll be trapped there, until the next morning. Brigadier Coetzee said the curfew was imposed in the interest of 98 percent of the residents as against the two percent who were troublemakers!

#### COMMENTARY EXAMINES REASONS FOR INANDA VIOLENCE

Durban POST NATAL in English 21-24 Aug 85 p 14

[Commentary by Kanthan Pillay]

[Text]

AST week's Inanda rioting, which left 70 people dead and thousands home-less, was another link in the chain of unrest gripping the country.

As Durban this week began to settle down in the aftermath of the unrest — which also hit KwaMashu, Umlazi and many other townships around the city — academics and community leaders said the violence that had hit the area was no different from uprisings throughout the country and was not sparked off by Indian-African conflict.

They claim the violence could easily have been prevented had the State's security forces stepped in early to prevent looting and burning.

Durban sociologist Professor Fatima Meer said the causes of the Durban disturbances were not unique and were same as those which had led to uprisings in other parts of the country.

"Durban is not isolated. It does not suffer any less tyrannical oppression than any other part of the country. The intolerable economic conditions and attacks on the dignity of the person led to a situation that sooner or later, it was inevi-

table that Durban would erupt," Professor Meer said.

Professor Meer said to portray it as an Indian/African conflict was absurd.

"The symbolism of the unrest is that those who feel the inroads of racism most in their life are reacting in the manner; that is taking place throughout the country.

"In Inanda, Indians shared that deprivation with Africans in that they lived in a common residential area. The simplest explanation is that they were caught in the fire."

She said the aggravating factor in the Inanda uprising was that from the Tuesday before the trouble, Indian families began to abandon their homes in fear.

"This left their homes free for the fringe elements who follow in the wake of disturbances brought about by economical and political uprisings."

Professor Meer said the security forces could easily have quelled the disturbances.

"If these disturbances had even so much as touched a remote periphery of a white area, the SADF would have been brutally effective," she said.

Veteran Verulam community leader, Yellan Chinsamy, who is heading the Inanda-Phoenix Relief Trust set up by the House of Delegates and whose Reform Party has worked for years in conjunction with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, strongly denied there had been a racial element in the uprising along the lines of the 1949 Indian-African conflict.

"If it was a racial conflict, can anyone explain why, up until the very last stages, no Indians were attacked or assaulted, no women were directly intimidated?

"I was among those active in arranging relief during the 1949 rlots. Even NIC veterans will tell you that at that time, Indians were stabbed and killed, women were raped. That was a racial conflict.

"In the case of Inanda, the mobs walked in, they told the Indian families to move out, and they looted.

"There has never been a racial conflict, only political issues which gave vent to anger. And any people who are trying to make it out to be a racial conflict are attempting to make trouble by provoking such a conflict."

He said he had been working closely with Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo on relief measures in the wake of the conflict.

"Dr Dhlomo supports

my claim that there was no racial element involved," he said. "Inkatha has been compiling evidence on the conflict and we have gathered so far that there was a foreign element involved."

He said Inkatha had evidence that Xhosa and Sotho speaking people had been brought into the townships and "stirred up" many of the unemployed men and youths.

"That was how the trouble started."

Mr Chinsamy said he had been in Johannesburg when the conflict began and on hearing of it, he immediately contacted Dr Dhlomo and asked for Inkatha to step in and quell the violence.

He said that had the security forces stepped in, they would have been in a position to prevent the looting and burning.

"The Defence Force didn't even have to take direct action. All they had to do was fire into the air above the mob and they would have turned back."

Ela Ramgobin - NIC executive member and a granddaughter of Mahat ma Gandhi, who for many years has worked among the people of In-anda — said the uprising should not be viewed as a racial issue.

"One has to look at the history of Inanda to put it in perspective. People in that area have been asking for help for years. There has been unemployment, malnutrition, high transport costs. The

lack of fresh water and the pit latrine system in themselves sparked off several problems. Outbreaks of typhoid and cholera have been regu-

Mrs Ramgobin said the Department of Community Development had reacted to the problem of the water supply, not by laying pipelines, but by moving in tankers with water.

"This further fuelled the anger of the people of Inanda as it made it clear to them that the Government considered their position there to be transitory," she said.

"About two years back, the DOCD decided to provide pipelines and siteand-service schemes via the Urban Foundation. The schemes were designed with a toilet on a site and with a communal tap shared by three or four houses. But only a small part of Inanda fell under this scheme. The rest of Inanda had to go to these taps and buy water. This further fuelled their anger."

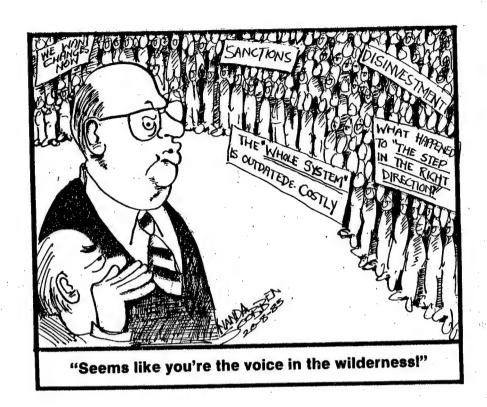
She said the State had attempted to use Indian landlords to spread divi-

"Warrants were served upon Indian landlords telling them to evict African tenants from their property. Many people lived in uncertainty as a result. One (African) person said he would go to work not knowing whether his house and family would be there when he returned in the evening. The people weren't aware of the landlords' position. They simply saw them as the the threat, not because they were Indians, but because they were the landlords."

Mrs Ramgobin said the DOCD then agreed that there would be improvements in Inanda and that it would be transformed into a city.

"All these factors: Unemployment, housing, having to buy water, institutionalised violence in the form of influx control, all this built up and unleashed a tornado which ripped through the township.

"So the State was directly responsible. I wouldn't want to place the blame on any individual but on the State.



CSO: 3400/1064

#### FIRST MIXED TRAINS START RUNNING

# Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Sep 85 p 9

[Text]

AMID much confusion and little fanfare, South Africa's first mixed race trains officially started running yesterday.

Apart from a few carriages still reserved for Whites only, suburban and mainline coaches are now open to all races.

At Johannesburg Station yesterday, the only thing to indicate that anything had changed was a larger than usual Railways Police presence.

They were on the platform to see that everything ran smoothly.

Travellers were either utterly confused as to how the system works or unaware that Blacks and Whites may now travel in the same coaches.

One young man — he did not wish to be named — said he thought that Whites still had to travel in the Whites only sections. When told he could sit anywhere, he said he would prefer the Whites only section.

"It will be a lot quieter," he said.

Mrs Dorothy Manana (52), a hotel employee, had not heard about the new system, but said she was very happy. She did feel, however, that all the coaches should be mixed.

A Post Office employee, Mr Evert de Jager (30), said: "Why should I sit next to a Black. They drink too much and start trouble".

Mr Douglas Merrick (22), a motor mechanic, said that he would sit in whichever seat was empty.

Two scholars, Gerhard (16), and Petrus Olkers (17), said they were unhappy about the new system. "We will sit in the Whites only sections. We are scared the Blacks will cause trouble," they said.

cause trouble," they said.

A Coloured man, Mr
Jackie Greef (32), a quality controller, said he
thought this should have
happened a long time
ago. "We pay the same
fares, so why shouldn't
we share the same facilities," he said.

One young woman, Erika van der Linde (21), said she though the new system was "pathetic".

"I don't think women will be able to travel with their handbags anymore and the Whites only section will be overcrowded because all the Whites will want to sit there," she said. Erika works for the Post Office.

Mrs Josina Combrink (40), another Post Office employee, said she would be afraid to travel with Blacks. "They get drunk and want to fight. The next thing you know they'll want to marry our daughters," she said.

POLICE CLAMPING DOWN ON SCHOOLCHILDREN

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 26 Aug 85 p 6

[Cartoon]



UDF URGES PLANS FOR 'SOLIDARITY ACTION' WITH NIM

MB020727 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0721 GMT 2 Sep 85

[Text] Joahnnesburg, Sep 2, SAPA--The United Democratic Front [UDF] today called on all its affiliate organisations to prepare for "strong solidarity action" with striking mineworkers if mine management continued to violently suppress the strike.

"We warn the police and mine bosses that if they continue with the violent suppression of the workers strike, we will have no option but to call on our affiliates to embark on strong solidarity action," the statement from the UDF executive committee said.

"The use of violence at Gencor's Beatrix mine and the arrests of workers at Kloof is proof that the mine bosses and the state, rather than pay workers a living wage, are prepared to drown the strike in blood.

"But their aims go further. They want to use this opportunity to smash the National Union of Mineworkers," the statement said.

The UDF regarded the organisation of the mineworkers--"the most oppressed and exploited section of the African people--as crucial."

"The wealth and power of the apartheid state has been built on the sweat and blood of the miners. That is why the continued exploitation is so crucial to the bosses."

The statement said the strength that NUM had displayed in representing the workers in this sector in recent years had posed a severe obstacle to the mine bosses goals.

"The UDF supports the struggle of the NUM. We call on all UDF affiliates to prepare for solidarity action, both material and political, should the mine bosses continue on their present violent course or dismiss the workers," the UDF statement said

POLL SHOWS 50 PERCENT OF BLACKS FAVOR UNREST

MB021339 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1331 GMT 2 Sep 85

[Text] Joahnnesburg, Sep 2, SAPA--Almost half urban blacks believe unrest is the right way to show their anger and dissatisfaction with conditions in the townships, and a large majority condemn police handling of the disturbances.

These were the major findings of a consumer pulse survey, carried out by the Markinor Research Group in March among 800 black people in the PWV [Pretoria-Witswaterrand-Vereening] area, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London.

The majority of urban blacks under 25 believe unrest is the best way to express their dissatisfaction. Older people believe peaceful methods should be used.

The level of frustration varies greatly from area to area. The study revealed 69 percent of blacks in Pretoria and 59 percent in Durban supported unrest.

Since the survey was conducted, trouble has broken out in these areas.

In the riot-torn eastern Cape, only 22 percent of blacks supported unrest.

The majority of blacks--the old almost as much as the young--believe unrest will continue.

Black people in Durban (82 percent), Pretoria (65 percent) and Soweto (62 percent) feel most strongly that unrest will continue.

The role of the police was widely condemned--70 percent of urban blacks are strongly opposed to the way in which the SAP is handling the disturbances, while 61 percent believe the police are against all blacks, irrespective of wehther they are involved in the unrest or not.

Criticism of the SAP is strongest among the young and the better educated, who believe the police are too quick to shoot, and that they do so indiscriminately.

They also claim they assault innocent people, and provoke riots merely by their presence.

#### LE GRANGE REASSURED HURLEY OVER KWAZULU THREATS

MB200723 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0714 GMT 30 Aug 85

[Text] Durban, Aug 30 SAPA--The minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, has personally assured Archbishop Denis Hurley no one would be allowed to take the law into their own hands in the Durban area. Archbishop Hurley telephoned the minister after a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, had ordered United Democratic Front supporters in the township to leave by the weekend or "face the consequences."

Mr Sabelo reportedly told a meeting in the township cars that did not have NUZ (Umlazi) number plates would be turned away from the township.

At a news conference yesterday, Archbishop Hurley said he had telephoned the minister at the request of a meeting of churchmen earlier in the week.

"I told him of the fear and anxiety the people of Umlazi felt at Mr Sabelo's threats. He said he would communicate with the commissioner of police for Durban area to make it clear that no one could take the law into their own hands. He said that if that happened, there would be the usual consequences. The police would make it absolutely clear that such conduct would not be tolerated."

Meanwhile, the church organisation Diakonia has been inundated with pleas for help from people left homeless in the recent township violence around Durban, and from people afraid to go home because of threats.

About 50 refugees gathered in the corridor at the Diakonia office yesterday. A Diakonia staff member, Mrs Norma Money, said the organisation was providing food parcels and clothing to the refugees but its resources were being strained.

CSO: 3400/1037

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### CHURCHES URGE NEGOTIATIONS WITH 'RECOGNIZED' LEADERS

MB292009 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1925 GMT 29 Aug 85

The second section of the section

[Text] Cape Town, Aug 28, SAPA--A group of clergy from the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches today called on the government to lift the state of emergency and on all leaders to engage in negotiations for a new, more just dispensation for South Africa.

The statement, signed by 45 clergymen including the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town, was issued following a meeting of ministers to discuss church unity.

The full text of the statement:

"We, the undersigned clergy and ministers of the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in the western Cape, out of our deep concern for the establishment of justice and peace in our land in accordance with Christian standards, call upon the state president and the government to:

"--Repeal immediately discriminatory legislation such as the racial classification act, the group areas act, laws enforcing migratory labour and all other racial and discriminatory legislation;

"--Negotiate with the recognized political leaders of the people of this land for a democratic constitution in which all will be able to participate in the making and enforcing of laws.

"In this regard we call for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela, Dr Allan Boesak and other leaders at present imprisoned or otherwise prevented from participating in the political process.

"Furthermore, we express our total opposition to and deep distress at the use of the draconian security laws, in particular Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, to silence those seeking non-violent political change in this land, among whom are a number of our colleagues and members of our churches.

"We urgently call upon the authorities to desist from preventing peaceful and, in our understanding, legitimate protest against the unjust and heretical system of apartheid, as it is the only way in which the political voice of many in this land can be heard.

"Unfortunately those who are supposed to keep the peace and order are frequently the ones who start the disorder by their inordinate and uncalled for violence against peaceful protestors, as the action against those who were marching to Pollsmoor (prison) on Wednesday this week illustrated.

"We call for the withdrawal of the SADF from the townships, as their presence there engages the defence force in the political process on the side of those whom the majority of the people of this see as the oppressors.

"We therefore call upon the state president and government to lift the state of emergency and upon all the leaders of this land to engage in negotiation for a new, more just dispensation for all God's children."

### COMMENTARY LAUDS AID BEING GIVEN MOZAMBIQUE

MB281127 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 28 Aug 85

[Station Commentary: "South Africa, Mozambique, and Illegal Immigrants"]

[Text] South Africa cannot be such a bad country as the world says if 1.5 million black workers from its neighboring black states freely come to it to work in its mines, factories, gardens, and on its farms. This statement was made recently in his important policy speech by South Africa's State President P. W. Botha. The 1.5 million workers from South Africa's neighboring states come to the country because they earn more money in South Africa and can live better and look better after their families at home than would be the case in their own countries.

However, the 1.5 million legal workers from neighbor states are not the only people from these countries seeking work in South Africa. It has just become known that between 100,000 and 160,000 Mozambicans have entered South Africa illegally to try and find food and work outside their own starving country. These starving people are braving minefields on the Mozambican side of the border, lions and other predators in South Africa's Kruger National Park, Mozambican soldiers, and the SAP and army in their desperate quest to find food. Mozambique's Frelimo government is leaving corpses to rot in its border minefields as a warning to refugees not to try to escape.

The Mozambique government has admitted that nearly half the population of the country is facing starvation and that the economy has virtually collapsed.

South Africa's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Louis Nel has just stated that the full economic benefits of the mutual Nkomati Accord with Mozambique cannot be reaped by Mozambique because of the instability of the country due to the civil war between the Frelimo government and the RENAMO rebels.

The famine in the country is caused by this instability, drought, and Marxist economic mismanagement. In an effort to help Mozambique to help itself, South Africa is doing all it can to facilitate an end to the war. At the same time, it has decided to help Mozambique to end the flow of illegal immigrants to South Africa. South Africa is repatriating these unfortunate people at a rate of about 1,500 per month, but they are not returning to the starvation and famine from which they have been trying to escape. South Africa is making

humanitarian aid available toward the establishment of resettlement camps inside Mozambique, and South Africa's policy of good neighborliness toward all her neighbors is helping Mozambique to help its people to help themselves and look after their own needs through the aid and training that it provides in these resettlement camps.

In return, South Africa is avoiding the problem of illegal immigrants entering the country and flooding its labor markets and causing all sorts of other social problems. This cooperation between South Africa and Mozambique shows that countries can live side by side in peaceful cooperation even though they differ vastly as far as politics is concerned.

#### COMMENTARY COMPARES RSA, ZIMBABWEAN SITUATIONS

MB290755 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 29 Aug 85

[Station commentary: "Negotiation in South Africa"]

[Text] It is becoming increasingly evident that the black people of South Africa want to return to normality in the country and are insisting that the authorities take the necessary steps to bring this about.

This week the state president, Mr P. W. Botha, visited several black townships in the Eastern Cape Province scene of considerable violence in recent times. The welcome he was given, particularly by then normally troublesome young people, was overwhelming while black councillors appealed to him not to lift the state of emergency before conditions have returned to normal.

Similar sentiments were expressed by black mayors of the East Rand. They informed the state president that they welcomed the state of emergency as a means of restoring calm to the townships. From all areas the state president was encouraged to continue with his reform measures and not to be discouraged by the violence in certain parts of the country.

The fact is that President Botha has indicated his full determination to carry out reforms in the country while at the same time doing what is necessary to restore law and order. It is for this reason that American President Ronald Reagan was willing to stick his neck out recently when he described the South African Government as genuinely reformist.

Let us take a look, for example, at what happened in a state such as Zimbabwe when trouble broke out in that country soon after independence. At one stage, the Matabele minority uprising against the Shona-dominated government of Mr Robert Mugabe became so severe that it was described as a civil war. Instead of announcing that he would introduce the necessary reforms to satisfy the Matabele or at least reach a compromise, Mr Mugabe kicked all foreign correspondents and other newsmen out of Matabeleland and sent in the notorious 5th brigade to suppress the troublemakers.

Matabele leader Joshua Nkomo's references to atrocities against the Matabele fell on deaf ears both in Zimbabwe and further afield. In addition to the force used against the Matabele, Mr Mugabe announced that he was to introduce

a one-party state. Again unlike the situation in South Africa, there is no public criticism of the Mugabe Government because the news media are all government-controlled.

Certainly, South Africa also has to use force to quell the radicals. This is demanded by the vast majority of peace-loving people. But to this country's credit it is moving along steadily toward introducing more democratic systems despite the violence. No other African state has done the same.

# REALITY OF 'MIXED RACE' RESIDENTIAL AREAS DESCRIBED

Pageview Community

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Aug 85 p 9

[Article by Peter Malherbe]

[Text]

A DAWN prayer-call by loudspeaker was the catalyst that brought peace to the mixed community of Pageview in Johannesburg.

A few months ago, the early-morning Muslim chants which reverberated through the small suburb made some white residents so angry that they wanted to fight

Violence erupted during the Fast of Ramadan when a group of stick-wielding whites attacked Indian worshippers.

They were angered by the traffic jams and noise created by the influx of Indians into the area.

Tension reigned for a few weeks as the two groups pro-claimed their rights. But finally a compromise was reached.

The Muslim leaders agreed to turn down the loudspeakers during the early hours; the whites resigned themselves to living with the reduced chants.

And now everyone lives side by side in this "grey" area.

The adults are politely friendly to one another but the children are colour-blind and play enthusiastically to-gether without a hint of hatred.

The saga of Pageview began in 1956 when the Government proclaimed it a white residential area — an action which caused great bitterness among Indians whose families had been living there for three generations.

# Legality

Scores of people were moved from the area, but 67 families defied their eviction orders and remained ... their small houses dotted among the homes of whites.

Although the fate of these "illegals" has yet to be decided by a pending Supreme Court action, the community has learned to live in har-

Mr Ebrahim Kharsany, secretary of the Pageview Residents Association, said the legal action was likely to be resolved in the next year.
"But there is peace in the

suburb," he said. One of the suburb's stal-

wart residents is Mrs Fatima Banoo, 66, who has been living in her Pageview home for

26 years. "My father-in-law gave us this home as a present. He had built it himself," said Mrs

"I don't mind living with the white people, we don't make problems for each oth-

"We greet each other when we pass in the street and nobody has ever been rude to

But she reflected the uncertainty of the people when she said: "We don't know what is going to happen. Sometimes I hear that it is going to be an Indian area, at other times they tell me it will be white."

She believes the Government should leave things as

Miss Goolshan Husain, 25, who works as a technician in a medical laboratory, said: "They gave us a house in Lenasia but we didn't accept it. We are happy, so why don't they just leave us alone?"

She said that whites and

Indians in the suburb had cordial relations.

"We have become used to each other.'

A regular visitor to the Husain household is Mr Carl Smith, who lives a few houses

Mr Smith has been living in Pageview for a year and he's very happy with the present situation.

"We get on well with our Indian neighbours and there have been no problems.

"The only minor disturbance has been the noise from the mosque up the road, but we've learnt to live with the din.

"It used to be very irritating, especially because the evening chanting always seemed to start up just as you were sitting down to watch television.

# Beliefs

"But I think you get used to any noise — it's like living next to a railway line. Everyone has got their own religious beliefs and I don't think it's up to us to forbid them to prav.

Mr Smith added that a household of white children up the road caused more disturbance in the area than the mosque.

"We've asked their parents to control them, but they are the worst thing about this

'Grey' Area in Durban

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Aug 85 p 9

[Article by Praveen Naidoo]

[Text]

WHEN Ebrahim Kajee's mother died recently. neighbour Patricia van der Berg came to help his distraught family with the funeral arrangements.

And when Percy Leeuw's grandson fell ill in the middle of the night, neighbour Jee-varathnam Chetty sent his daughter, a nurse, to attend to the boy.

They are all ordinary neighbours — but a law makes some of them illegal tenants in their own homes.

For decades they have lived alongside each other in the only remaining "grey" area in Durban.

It is part of the suburb of Stamford Hill, bounded on one side by the wealthy white Berea and on the other by a light industrial area.

Recently the area's ratepayers' association amended its constitution to allow people of all races to become members — making it the only such body in the city and, possibly, in the country.

# Re-housed

Walk along Percy Osborne Road and you see neighbours chatting on the cool, red-stoeped verandahs wrapped around their old homes.

Mr Chetty, 73, was one of 25 families who bought homes in the area when a, large block was declared for Indian occupation soon after the Second World War. Years later, the Govern-ment excised the land and most of the Indian families moved out. But some, like Mr. Chetty, remained. "Recently, the Department

of Community Development has been putting pressure on

me to leave.

"I've told them that this is my house, I am quite com-fortable here and I do not want to be re-housed.'

The community shares a

spirit of togetherness that transcends race. Said Mr Chetty: "A neigh-bour's child was ill recently in the middle of the night. We all went over with my daughter, a nurse, to see what we could do."

# Content

His neighbour, 67-year-old Mr Percy Leeuw, dismissed the Group Areas Act with a smile.

"I have lived here for 28 years and we have never had any problems," he said.
"It's the Government that's

got a problem, not us."

Further up the road, insur-ance broker Mr Ebrahim Kalee sat in his cool lounge with its high, moulded ceiling. Outside tall palm trees swayed in the sea breeze.

"My family bought this place in 1949," he said. "Twenty years later the Department of Community Development bought the house from us for R15 000.

"Now we pay them a rental of R100 a month.

"Having a white family living next door is no different from living next to Indi-

"We get together for par-ties and family occasions but we don't pry into each other's business

"My mother died four months ago and Mrs van der Berg came to help us with the funeral and to cater for the large crowd we had here."

Said Mrs van der Berg: "I think people would be surprised at the amount of goodwill that exists between whites and non-whites."

# Woodstock in Cape Town

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 Aug 85 p 9

[Article by Sylvia Vollenhoven]

[Text]

WOODSTOCK is Cape Town's only "grey area" and politicians, community leaders and residents have called on the Government to "let people live in peace" there.

Said Mr Jan van Eck, PFP MPC for the area: "Relations are harmonious here. There is acceptance from both

sides.
"We haven't had race riots
anywhere in these mixed
areas."

One couple — the husband is white and his wife coloured — said they had been living next to white neighbours for 40 years.

In terms of the Group Areas Act their street is in a white area.

Officially, Woodstock has been cut into pockets of white, coloured and grey areas.

# Lucky

But everywhere in the suburb people have crossed over the colour lines, with or without the Government's permission.

One man said: "We were married before they made their laws and no matter what they said, we just stayed here all the years.

"We are lucky because we all know each other in this street. My neighbours wouldn't complain."

Both he and his wife — a fair-complexioned woman who could "pass for white" — were born in Woodstock.

"Luckily, I got white identities for my children. But they know their mother is coloured and they're not ashamed."

A few streets away a couple with less tolerant neighbours had the police knock on their door at 6am recently.

Their parish priest, the Rev Father Basil van Rensburg, who has worked in the area for 10 years, said they had just moved into their house when the dreaded "dawn knock" came. "The policeman told them white neighbours had complained about his wife not being white. But that was all he said.

"They say the policeman was obviously embarrassed by what he had to do.

by what he had to do.

"He said he couldn't understand why the neighbours complained.

"He then just turned and walked away.

"Nothing has happened since, so they're obviously not investigating the complaint."

# Couples

Mr van Eck said he knew of 11 mixed couples, who lived mostly in Cape Town's white middle-class southern suburbs.

Mr Ian Iversen, the white city councillor for the Woodstock/Observatory area, said his neighbour was a Malay man.

"My stand on the issue is that we shouldn't have Group Areas at all, let alone grey areas," said Mr Iversen.

cso: 3400/1065

PORT ELIZABETH BOYCOTT LEADERS WANT NONARREST GUARANTEE

MB301654 Johannesburg SPA in English 1646 GMT 30 Aug 85

[Text] Port Elizabeth, Aug 30, SAPA-Boycott leaders in Port Elizabeth are prepared to come out of hiding and talk to businessmen-as soon as the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, gives an assurance they will not be arrested.

The EVENING POST met the leaders at a secret rendezvous today.

The leaders went underground when the state of emergency was declared and hard-hit traders have had no one since with whom to plead their case.

Mr Michael Nzotoyi, acting spokesman for the consumer boycott committee since the detention of Mr Mkhuseli Jack, told the EVENING POST the boycott leaders were keen to discuss the worsening crisis.

He said the task of getting Mr Le Grange's written assurance was the task of the chamber of commerce and traders affected by the six weeks boycott.

He said that if negotiations did not take place, the boycott, due to end on September 15, might become indefinite.

"Our aim is reconciliation. We are ordinary, moderate human beings with normal human aspirations.

"But we stand for non-racial free enterprise. We want a share of the cake, not the crumbs," he said.

He said the aim of the boycott was to "get the government to see the needs, the desires and the aspirations of the people in the townships."

"We want whites to respond to our demands. They are not radical demands, but they have to be met before there can be any lifting of the boycott."

Traders have said they were keen to meet boycott leaders, but added this was impossible because they were "either in hiding or in jail."

Mr Nzotoyi said: "We'd like people to stop making statements saying we're not available for negotiations. Meetings can be arranged—but only if the conditions (relating to their safety) are met."

Today, the president of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Mr Frank Wightman, said a meeting would take place--probably later today--between the chamber, the Afrikaanse Sekekamer [Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce] and representatives of affected traders, with a view to forming a committee to negotiate with boycott leaders.

He said a mandate would have to be received from this committee before the government could be petitioned to release detained leaders and to guarantee that those in hiding were not arrested, should they meet the committee.

Earlier this week, the mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Ivan Krige, said businessmen could reestablish the lines of communications between black and white--"severed" when the Bantu administration (now development) boards were established--by speaking to "credible" black leaders, even if this meant speaking with those currently in detention.

The opinion was echoed yesterday by leaders in commerce and industry at a meeting with state president, Mr P. W. Botha.

Last week, the Port Elizabeth chamber released a statement calling for several major political reforms, including common citizenship for all and the removal of all legislation that discriminates on the basis of colour.

Mr Nzotoyi said his committee was also prepared to speak to "anybody at any time" about the release of people detained under the emergency, as a step toward negotiating about the initial grievances which gave rise to the boycott.

#### PRETORIA TO TARGET MONEY SUPPLY

# Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 Aug 85 p 2

### [Article by Alan Sendzul]

[Text]

SUGGESTIONS to target the money supply — that much-neglected area of economic policy — are now being taken far more seriously by Pretoria.

According to Roger Gidlow this stems from the belief that stable economic growth and low inflation have their roots in controlled money supply growth.

In the July issue of the Bank of Lisbon's Economic Focus, Gidlow says that rigid targeting, with its low tolerance for intervention in market forces, is unsuitable for SA

The De Kock Commission's conclusions bear this out by saying that inflexible targeting requires freely functioning exchange and interest rates.

If growth targets were implemented, the initial obstacle would be to judge what the growth rate should be. But with cpi-measured inflation running at more than 16%, the danger of an out-of-control money supply growth implies little success rate.

The issue is further complicated

The issue is further complicated by choice of the right money aggregate (M1, M2 or the broadly-defined M3).

According to Gidlow, the appropriate money aggregate should be

one that is easy to control. It should also be simple to measure and the definition of its components consistent.

The chosen aggregate would also be able to track successfully movements in gross domestic expenditure (unadjusted for inflation).

One of the factors which often blurs accurate money statistics, says Gidlow, is off-balance-sheet financing and an array of innovative banking practices aimed at circumventing bank-lending restrictions.

Furthermore, the susceptibility of SA to trade patterns, makes it vulnerable to external shocks which need correction by the central bank. Even if the authorities met their targets, SA's accelerating inflation would shrink the money supply which would contract economic activity and increase the number of jobless.

The Economic Focus says that in some cases volatility in the exchange rate might warrant no public disclosure of target overshoots. The cost of announcement would outweigh the erosion of public confidence.

NUM MAY JOIN 7-NATION ALLIANCE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 2 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Claire Pickard-Cambridge]

SWITTER BY STREET TOWARD SOUNDERS

[Text]

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) will decide on joining a new federation of mining unions, spanning seven Southern African countries, when it meets to discuss strike action.

General secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday there was a "strong likelihood" the NUM would join the federation, covering mineworkers from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique.

About 4 000 NUM members are expected to attend the mass conference in Welkom on Saturday.

Ramaphosa said the federation would promote political unity among mine workers, particularly on issues affecting many countries such as government's threat to repatriate foreign workers.

Other resolutions at Saturday's conference centre on the date and strategy for strike action.

Legal strikes could take place at as many as 27 gold and coal mines where the union is recognised. The union would decide where it would take action.

The NUM is demanding a pay rise of 22%, but the Chamber of Mines granted 14,1% to 19,6% increases on minimum rates, implemented on July 1.

BLACK UNIONS CONCENTRATING ON GROWTH, CONSOLIDATION

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 2 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

BLACK trade unions are concentrating on growth and consolidation rather than pursuing an overt political role, says a Human Sciences Research Council report.

Released in Pretoria yesterday, the report is based on interviews with 12 union leaders who claim a total membership of 280 000 in the chemical, insurance, laundry, mining and motor industries.

The lack of communication between employer and worker is emphasised in the

report. The unions are aware their power base lies for the present in numbers and organisation, and that once they are well established "the power of the black worker will be a potentially powerful weapon to influence the work conditions of blacks through collective action".

As unions became increasingly experienced in the process of negotiation and more firmly established, socio-political issues will increasingly encroach on the negotiating process. Though strikes are seen as potentially powerful, most union leaders feel they are not, as a rule, successful.

Ten of the 12 leaders are not opposed to strikes not called by unions. Neither is it felt such strikes undermine union leadership. These are seen as a "spontaneous expression of anger and frustration" as opposed to planned and calculated strikes.

cso: 3400/855

#### TRADERS FACE RUIN AS BOYCOTT BITES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text]

TRADERS trapped in an industrial dispute in Howick face ruin as a trade-union-inspired consumer boycott tightens its grip.

Hopes of an early end to the boycott of white retailers in Port Elizabeth have been dashed by the state of emergency.

Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, says the emergency regulations wrecked negotiations which were at an advanced stage to end the boycott.

# Worst hit

Turnover in Port Elizabeth's supermarkets has slumped by up to 32%. Stores in North End are the

Stores in North End are the hardest hit. Some retailers say blacks make up 90% of their customers, They forecast a financial crisis if the boycott goes its full eight weeks.

A North End chain store reports a drop in sales of between 15% and 20% after the second week of the boycott.

There is every sign that black customers will stay away from white shops as long as black stores meet their needs.

A supermarket owner says his turnover has dropped by almost 50%.

A Checkers store in the city, however, has not been affected severely and sales are down by only 5%.

But a chain store in North End, the worst-hit area, reports a 15% fall in sales.

Although blacks represent 50% of Port Elizabeth buying power, most business in food and clothing depends on them. One clothing retailer reports a 75% plunge in sales.

Mr Gilson says: "Although it is difficult to quantify the degree to which trade has been affected, the impact is serious."

He warns that a prolonged boycott could lead to further decline in buying power in the area which is plagued by some of SA's highest unemployment rates.

A spokesman for the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce says the extent to which city stores are affected is shown by the long queues at township shops.

at township shops.

He says wholesalers continue to supply black retailers and there is no indication that they will stop doing so.

The boycott can be sustained as long as traders have sufficient stock, he says.

The boycott of Howick's white traders was sparked off more than month ago

after a 10-year battle by the Metal and Allied Workers Union to gain recognition at the BTR-Sarmcol rubber factory failed.

tory failed.
Geoff Schreiner, the union's Natal secretary, says: "Repeated failure of the conciliation machinery to secure recognition culminated in a strike and dismissal of 1 000 our members.

"The union launched the boycott to force Sarmcol's return to the negotiating table."

# **Bread strike**

A Howick supermarket reports a 50% drop in takings. The town clerk, Ron Robbins, says: "Traders are concerned that the backlash from trouble at Sarmcol has scared many white customers away as well."

Mr Schreiner warns that Howick's small businesses and the informal sector will be forced to close if the dispute with BTR-Sarmcol is not resolved.

The union has threatened to extend the boycott to neighbouring Maritzburg if talks are not resumed.

Workers are being supplied with food by the union and the rest of the black community shops in Maritzburg.

The Sweet Food Workers Union demanded this week that some of the 400 000 loaves of undelivered bread from strike-hit bakeries in Durban be given to dismissed Sarmcol workers.

#### FINANCIAL MARKETS SHAKEN BY STATE OF EMERGENCY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 28 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by David Carte]

[Text]

FINANCIAL markets were shaken this week by the state of emergency, the spate of arrests in its wake and France's hostility.

Sharp deteriorations were registered in the stock market, the money and capital markets, foreign-currency markets and property.

But business spokesmen warned against panic, saying that those who sold property and shares after Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 lost heavily.

Joop de Loor, outgoing Director-General, Finance, said yesterday: "Markets always over-react. Confidence will return once the dust has settled."

# Golds pounded

Gold shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange took a particular pounding, the JSE Actuaries golds index falling 13% by Thursday before a small bounce on Friday left them 11% down on the week. Marginal shares fell by more than 20%.

The slump in golds was caused by heavy selling from America. Since October last year, they have bought more than R100-million of gold shares a month.

Americans turned sellers not only because of negative US media coverage of political events in South Africa but because their investments have performed disappointingly. The dollar price of gold has not yet benefited from the slide in the dollar against other currencies.

# Bank support

Partly because of gold share selling but also because South African importers panicked on Thursday, buying as many dollars as they could, the rand fell 6% on the week. On Friday it dropped to \$0,47, about five US cents above its all-time low, before recovering to \$0,48.

The Reserve Bank intervened to support the rand on Thursday and Friday. It also acted to prevent rates jumping in the money market.

Chris Stals, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, said: "It was a bit hectic up to 11 am on Friday. But after that, things stabilised. I think it was a short-term reaction and did not reflect the economic fundamentals."

Dr Stals said import and export figures indicated an even bigger current account surplus than was expected a month ago.

But there had been an outflow on the capital account. This partly reflected selling of gold shares. In addition "the leads and lags" had turned negative, exporters repatriating proceeds more slowly, and importers settling as quickly as possible in case of a rand slide.

# Regret

Industrial shares were also appreciably weaker, the JSE Actuaries index slumping 5% on the week. Industrials are still within 10% of their all-time highs.

Property spokesmen said there was some shock about the emergency early in the week, but few home-owners had translated their concern into sales.

Hans Falkena, chief economist of the United Building Society, said property prices had not fallen by more than 3% in the year to June. The week's events would not have shaved more than another 2% off house values.

Property economist, Neville Berkowitz, said those who sold too hastily might regret it.

Property prices were affected by confidence, but there was pent-up demand for housing and prices could rise if mortgage rates fell later this year.

Dr De Loor said every economic indicator, with the exception of the inflation rate, was improving. Government finances were in great shape, spending was in check and revenue was higher than expected. The inflation rate would start falling soon.

# Petrol price

Dr Stals said that unless there were political setbacks, an uptick in short-term interest rates would be short lived.

"Obviously, we cannot let rates decline while the rand is threatened. But if this is merely a short-term reaction, domestic interest rates can continue downwards. There is no concern that inflationary demand will pick up if rates go lower."

Economists are unanimous that inflation should start to fall once the effects of the big slide in the rand, and notably the higher petrol price, are out of the index.

Until this week's fall in the rand, there were high hopes of cheaper petrol. With the rand on \$0,51, the cost of crude oil has fallen by 23% since the last increase.

Only another slide in the rand can fuel inflation.

cso: 3400/855

### BLACK BOYCOTT OF WHITE SHOP ENDS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Sep 85 p 4

#### [Text]

GRAAFF-REINET. —
The Black boycott of
Graaff-Reinet shops had
ended, the chairman of
the Graaff-Reinet
Chamber of Commerce,
Mr Ken de Lange, said
yesterday.

Mr De Lange said Black people recently resumed trading at white businesses in the town.

While the reason for the halt of the boycott is unknown, Mr De Lange thought it ended because intimidation stopped.

Tension in the townships had lessened, he said.

No one had yet responded to an advertisement placed by the Chamber in a local newspaper, inviting Black people to discuss their grievances with the Chamber, or to write if they feared intimidation, he said.

Meanwhile in Cape Town, the powerful Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) has called on the Government to lift the state of emergency and has put its weight behind the consumer boycott to protest against current Government measures.

The FCWU, whose conference at the week-end was attended by delegates from 130 factories, also deplored the jailing of former union general secretary and organiser, Oscar Mpetha, and the banning of the student organisation, Cosas.

In a motion condemning the imposition of the state of emergency, the FCWU called for "one person, one vote for all South Africans in one Parliament".

The union, which has recently merged with its sister body, the African Food and Canning Workers Union, hopes to merge with the Fosatu-affiliated Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union soon. — Sapa.

#### MINISTER WARNS OF DANGERS OF ENGLISH PRESS MONOPOLY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Aug 85 p 10

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text] CAPE TOWN. — The Government is concerned about a free Press in South Africa, as only a free Press can reflect the truth of South African events, says Mr John Wiley, Minister of Environmental Affairs and of Tourism.

With a "creeping" take-over of South-African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) by the Argus Company, which in turn was controlled by Anglo-American, a single monopoly now controlled all but three English-language daily newspapers.

### The Citizen

The three independent English daily newspapers were The Citizen, the Natal Witness and the Daily Dispatch, Mr Wiley told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

"The English-language Press cannot be free if, with three exceptions, it is in the hands of one group which, in turn, is controlled by a mining-financial institution."

The Government believed in a free Press and a diversity of newspapers but within the newspaper industry, the Argus-SAAN group was looking to profits instead of journalistic integrity, resulting in the recent closure of such newspapers as the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Express, The Friend and the Sowetan Sunday Mirror.

"If losses are the criterion, many newspaper editors must today be shivering in their shoes," said Mr Wiley.

"I hope those English language newspaper editors who allowed the take-over of SAAN by Argus and its associates, without a murmur, will be ashamed that they have allowed the case against a monopoly in the English Press to go by default."

One of the most serious aspects was that trained and experienced journalists were leaving fields. Former skilled journalists had now "gone fishing" or were even selling hotdogs.

"My information is that newspaper managements have not adequately recognised the skills of journalists in terms of remuneration and conditions of service.

"The loss of these experienced men and women is a loss not just to the industry, but to South Africa itself. "A sound Press cannot be maintained unless it is adequately staffed, and the public cannot be kept fully informed, unless there are experienced journalists to record and to interpret events."

### Vorster

Mr Wiley said for more than a decade he had warned and fought against a monopoly in the English Press.

In 1968, when Argus made a bid to take over SAAN, the SAAN editors themselves objected and the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, stepped in to stop it.

Since then there had been a "creeping" take-over of SAAN by the Argus company, but as long as the traditional share-holders centred on the N Bailey Trust were in control of SAAN, Argus had been frustrated.

However, after these traditional shareholders had sold their shares to the "instantly-created" Advowson Trust to frustrate a bid by Louis Luyt and De Villiers Graaff, the way had been open for JCI to take control of SAAN.

JCI was a company in the Anglo-American stable yet it had been able to assume control "without so much as a whimper of protest" from SAAN edi-

JCI and Charter Consolidated, both in the Anglo Group, controlled Argus and Argus now held 37,9 percent of SAAN. Advowson Trust also had 20,27 percent and JCI held 17,52 percent of SAAN.

"In other words, JCI-Advowson Trust and Argus hold 75 percent of SAAN, and surely nobody is going to argue about who owns Argus," Mr Wiley said.

Argus-SAAN "Since controls 90 percent of the English-language Press only The Citizen, the Natal Witness and the Daily Dispatch are not in its hands - you can see how monopolistic this grouping is."

Mr Wiley said the Rand Daily Mail had folded because "the Reef public rebelled against the radicalism of the RDM and the 'gutless indecision' of The Star, and gave increasing support to the fiercely patriotic Citizen."

If, as expected, the Argus group newspapers become 24-hour publications, most English-language morning newspapers will disappear, Mr

Wiley said.

Mr Wiley said the newspapers' inability to come to terms with the electronic media fast enough was one of the main facets to cause the demise of some of the country's historic papers.

"Though I am hopeful that newspapers as such, will survive, despite the competition for advertising from the electronic media, I am less than satisfied that even then, the industry will be in a healthy state," he said.

3400/1036 CSO:

### BOTHA'S DEPORTATION THREAT COULD HIT NATION'S ECONOMY

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 19 Aug 85 p 12

[Article by Kelly McParland]

[Text] After the vote in the UN Security Council for voluntary sanctions against South Africa, President Botha threatened to send home foreign workers as a reprisal. About 1.5 million from neighbouring black states work in South Africa-large numbers in the crucial mining sector. Returning them home, reports Gemeni News Service, would be a double-edged weapon, knocking South Africa's economy as much as others.

IF PRESIDENT Botha were to carry out his threat to deport foreign workers from South Africa it would hobble the economies of several black states dependent on remittances home, but it would also seriously hurt his own struggling economy.

This self-destructive element of the warning led to its being dismissed as a "hollow" or "childish" show of bluster intended to impress party extremists. South African whites rely on their most determined antagonists—blacks and outsiders—to keep the ship of apartheid afloat.

Estimates of the number of foreign blacks in the country range from 210 000 officially employed in mining to one million or more working, mostly illegally, in various sectors. All have one thing in common: Conditions vastly inferior to whites.

It was, in fact, the poor conditions which prompted Pretoria to turn to foreign workers in the first place.

Before the price of gold was allowed to float, mining comparies could maintain profits only by paying near-

starvation wages. Black miners were paid less than about Z60c a day, and crammed into compounds that stept 80 or 90 to a dormitorystyle room.

stept 80 or 90 to a dormitorystyle room.

Whites could not be induced to endure the squalid conditions and even local blacks were hard to recruit, so the industry established a hiring network that eventually reached most black nations on the continent.

At one time, 75 percent of mineworkers were foreign. In the 70s. however, when gold soared towards US\$800 an ounce, mines were able to reduce their dependence by raising wages and improving conditions.

Todav about 40 percent of the 540 000 hlacks in the gold coal; copper, platinum and lead mining industries are outsiders working on contracts of up to a year. Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland are the most frequent countries of origin.

Foreign workers also make up part of the 1,4 million

blacks labouring on farms, and take manufacturing jobs as well. In all, they send home about Z\$300 million a year.

Although conditions have improved in recent years, the gains have been relative. A black miner earns about Z\$180 a month — ten times as much as a decade ago but far behind the average white's Z\$900.

Conditions inside the mines can be treacherous. Inspections are infrequent, and when a coal mining disaster recently killed 68 workers, fines against the owners and two employees totalled about \$\infty\$5600.

At an asbestos mine in the East Transvaal, 134 workers were discharged in a 10-month period after contracting asbestosis. Women were being paid \$1.30 per 10hour shift to sort waste material from asbestos, with no protective equipment for them or any other workers.

For those who catch mining-related diseases, compensation varies with skin colour. A white miner receives about Z\$110 000 for a "first-degree" illness and about Z\$5 200 more if it grows worse,

A black gets about Z\$920 for a first-degree illness and nothing more.

In addition, foreign workers face the worst aspects of migratory work. Pass laws confine them to the mine area, where they live in compounds or sexually-segregated hostels. Foreigners spend months at a time away from their families, who usually are not allowed to follow even if they can afford to.

Almost all outside workers are men. The loneliness, the tedium of the job and the cramped living conditions create feelings of insecurity, uncertainty, frustration and boredom, which have been blamed for frequent marriage breakdowns, tribal clashes and uncontrolled eruptions of violence.

Last April, the first legal miners' strike resulted in 10 deaths and 250 injuries. Tribal tensions were blamed for a riot at a mine in Welkom that killed 10 more.

In probably the most tension-charged confrontation so far between miners and management, almost 18 000 men at the country's two largest gold mines were dismissed last year over unofficial work stoppages

The miners wanted a 40 percent pay increase, and an end to the job reservation system that blocks them from receiving the certificates that could allow them to advance in 11 skilled categories, including team leaders, supervisors, blasters and engine drivers.

Blacks are also shut out from most apprenticeship

positions. In 1983 more than 1 500 whites were indentured as general mining apprentices, compared with 42 blacks.

Unequal pay scales have allowed South African corporations to become among the world's most profitable. Greed for even greater profits was behind the owners' support for legalised black unions, which they hoped would be compliant and grateful.

Instead, since 1981 the unions have given black labour increased muscle, which the industrial disruptions of the past year show they are learning to flex with authority.

Already strong enough to worry the government, this power would be enhanced if Mr Botha carried out his expulsion throat, leaving the country even more reliant on the remaining miners.

Gold production and the South African economy are bound inextricably together When the price averaged US\$613 an ounce in 1980 it touched off a consumer boom. The hangover is still being felt. An ounce of gold is now worth about U\$\$300, and South Africa's economy is stumbling along with proportional difficulty.

A \$100 change in gold means a related Z\$1,5 billion shift in the balance of payments. When the metal briefly sold for US\$850 in 1980 the rand was worth US\$1,35: today it is valued at US39c.

The most recent currency collapse followed closely on the threat of expulsion. While not solely responsible, it showed foreign nervousness about the uncertainty of Pretoria's a fairs.

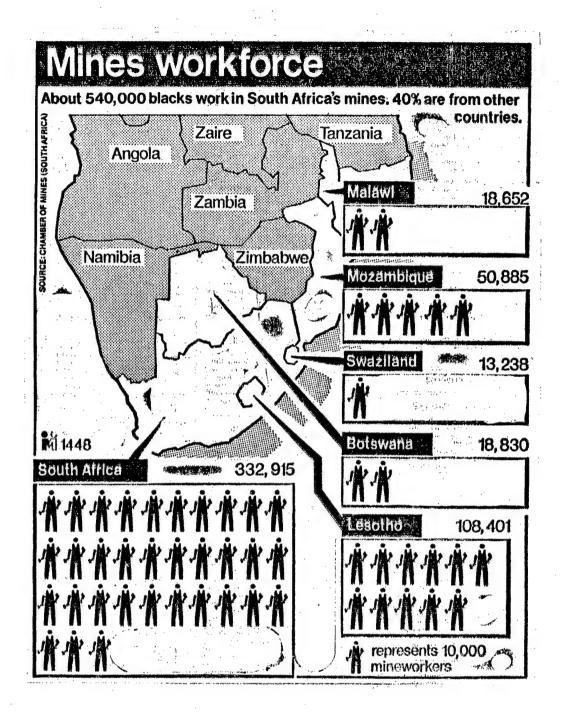
Despite an unemployment rate among blacks estimated at 25 percent or more, 210 000 deported miners could not be easily replaced. Training their successors would be difficult.

The vice-president of the Chamber of Mines, the employers' organisation, once warned the government that a minerals embargo of the West would be self-defeature, as it would harm South Africa more than its enemies, Crippling the industry in a fit of self-righteous pique would be no different.

The real threat of the expulsion warning may be its signal that white South Africa is not willing to be beaten down by international pressure without taking others with it.

Pretoria may not be able to save itself, but it can still cause immense hardship for whatever follows in its wake, and for neighbouring states that rely on it for trade and supplies.

The three states sharing a customs union with Pretoria — Botswana; Lesotho and Swaziland — are the most vulnerable. The effects of self-immolation, however, would be felt all over southern Africa. — GEMINI.



3400/1036

#### BLACKS IN BORDER AREAS VOICE FEARS OF MOVING TO CISKEI

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 15 Aug 85 p 8

[Report by Franz Kruger]

[Text] "We were born and the here. Our forefathers' "We were born and lived graves are next to us. We don't want to change our lives now."

The speaker is Mr David Mcilongo, who is 75 years old. He has lived in Mooiplaas all his life. Yet he and other residents of the area may still have to move to Ncera, near Kidd's Beach.

Mooiplaas is a black spot, one of three within half an hour's drive from East London. Along with Kwelera and Newlands, it is an area of black settlement in "white" South Africa.

In terms of govern-ment policy, such areas are to be cleared, their residents moved into one of the national states.

The policy of black spot removals has attracted a great deal of unfavourable publicity, and the government recently announced that all removals would be suspended pending an investigation into each individual case.

The Minister of Cooperation, Development and Education Dr Gerrit Viljoen, announced the freeze at the beginning of this year. He said the removal policy would be "drastically reviewed so as to limit it to the absolute minimum, and to ensure that, insofar as is humanly possible, it will be done with the consent of those affected."

But the fear of removal remains. A Newlands resident said: "We are living on our toes here. The government said we won't be moved by force, and we hope they keep their word.

"I don't think I'll move. I'm too old to put up a new house. If it comes to that. I'll just go some-

where else."
Residents of all three areas have formed associations to fight removal. following the example of the Mgwali Residents' Association. Mr Pindine Bolo, chairman of the Kwelera Residents' Association, said: "We plan to resist removal by non-violent means.

Mr Ephraim Makinana of the Mooiplaas Residents' Association, said: "We want to contact the Ciskei Government, and even the South African Government, and clairfy that we don't want to move."

The area earmarked for the three communities is Ncera, near Kidd's Beach in Ciskei, but residents have many objections to being moved there.

A Newlands shopkeeper said: "People get used to a place, it's their home. They just don't want to move."

Mr Bolo said: "We were told that we would be given two-roomed houses to occupy at Kidd's Beach. We will be

in a township there, with no fields to plough and no livestock."

Mr Makinana said the area they would be given . at Ncera was less than a quarter the size of Mooi-plaas. "There won't be enough space for fields. Here, there is enough room. We can do what we want."

There had been pineapple lands at Kidd's Beach. "Once you've planted pineap-ples, you can't plant mealies again. Pineap-ples take everything out of the soil, but we need mealies to survive.

"We can't plant pineapples because they are too expensive."

Residents also said money they had been promised as compensation was inadequate. Valuations had been done many years ago.
"They valued a house at R400. Nowadays, you can't even build a toilet for that."

However, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, Ciskei's Minister of Public Works and the chief of the three areas, said removal would benefit the communities. "This time, resettlement will bring a better life for the people."

Chief Jongilanga said he would not have accepted removal "under the old condi-tions," but he was nego-tiating on a number of issues with the South African Government.

One of these was for South Africa to grant Ciskei additional land in the Ncera area. Pretoria had already agreed to give Ciskei 24 000 ha of additional land between Ncera and Chalumna. A large part of this land had already been bought out, he said.

He had also suggested to the South African Government that Newlands should not be resettled, but rather incorporated into Ciskei. Only two white farms lie between Newlands and the Ciskei border where

it skirts Mdantsane. Newlands "should be part of Mdantsane," Chief Jongilanga said. The factories there would provide employment. Already, many workers live in Newlands and commute to industries in East London and Mdantsane.

With Mdantsane suffering an acute housing shortage, Newlands has proved attractive for many city workers. As it is a rural village, houses can be built there by residents themselves. A villager said: "Many have come here in the past few years. They are running away from the rents in Mdantsane."

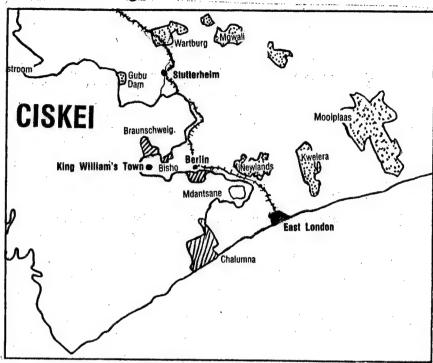
Chief Jongilanga said the areas were over-crowded. "It is congested at Kwelera. The present generation growing up will not have enough land."

On the pineapple lands at Ncera, he said there were 7 000 ha which would be farmed by a commercial undertaking on behalf of the residents. The profits would be divided among the residents, he said.

There was already a canning plant in the area, and he negotiated for a hospital and a hotel to be built.

"They would be going from an area where they are doing nothing, to an area of activity. In this case it is resettlement with a purpose.

"They don't know what they are rejecting, Chief Jongilanga said.



The plan for Ciskel consolidation. People living in dotted areas are to be moved to Ciskei. The striped areas of South African territory have already, or are about to be added to Ciskei.

Once he had finalised negotiations, he would go to residents and present them "with a package deal. I can't go to them without something written. But then they must decide, and if they want to stay there, they can do so.

"My worry is that the youth is agitating against removal without know-ing the full facts," Chief Jongilanga said, and stressed there would be no forced removal.

The Ciskei Government already administers the three areas in terms of an agreement with the South African Government concluded on Nover 30, 1981 - immediately before Ciskei was granted independence.

The agreement also covers Mgwali, and residents of this black spot near Stutterheim have challenged the arrange-

ment in court. South Africa is reportedly preparing to reassume full responsibility for Mgwali as a result of the court challenge.

While it is not yet clear whether South Africa will also take back administrative control of Kwelera, Mooiplaas and Newlands, there is substantial opposition in these areas to Ciskei administration.

The newly-founded residents associations have cited this as the second target of their opposition, after removal itself. Mr Bolo said: "We want to take away all Ciskeian things."

Ciskei administration is perceived as the thin end of the wedge which will lead to removal. "We have been told to get Ciskeian Books of Life," Mr Bolo said, "but we demand to be given sions," he said.

the South African reference books.

"If we take the Book of Life, it means we are Ciskeians and then it will be easier for us to be taken to Kidd's Beach."

Ciskei pensions are another cause of resentment, as they are lower than South African ones. Ciskei pensioners re-ceive R80 every two months, while their South African counter-parts receive R122 at the same interval.

In addition, pensioners are expected to pay various taxes to Ciskei. Mr Mcilongo, of Mooi-plaas, said: "People who live on the farms get pensions from South

"They get more money, and then Ciskei still takes off taxes. We are not well on Ciskei pen-

### INKATHA WARNS UDF OVER UNREST IN TOWNSHIPS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Tim Clarke]

DURBAN. — The Inkatha movement has taken a firm line with the United Democratic Front (UDF) in townships near Durban, which have been the scene of violence in the last three weeks.

At a meeting held in Umlazi, the massive Black township to the south of Durban, Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and a leading member of Inkatha, warned UDF sympathisers that they would have to leave Umlazi by the weekend or "face action".

Mr Sabelo also warned the residents of Lamontville, another South Coast township, and the residents of Hambanathi on the North Coast that UDF supporters and sympathisers would have to leave the townships by the weekend.

He also warned township residents whose cars did not bear Umlazi's NUZ registration to have them changed by the weekend. Mr Sabelo claimed that many "foreign" cars had been seen in the last two weeks at the various townships. He said some of the cars had Transvaal registration numberplates and that "these people are bent on trouble".

He said that vehicles without the NUZ registration would be turned away from the various townships unless the occupants declared themselves at the various township offices before entering the townships proper.

Mr Sabelo said that most of the recent trouble in the townships was being caused by UDF supporters and sympathisers.

"We plan to deal with them. They have been warned and given enough time to get out".

He also warned that once the townships had been "quietened down" Inkatha would turn its attention to certain churches. He said these churches would be closed because "they are the nests of rival organisations". He also warned doctors and

lawyers living in the townships to be careful about their involvement with organisations such as the UDF.

Prince Gideon Zulu, deputy Chief Whip of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, who was also at the meeting, said trouble makers had travelled from outside Umlazi.

At the weekend UDF supporters claimed that members of the Inkatha movement had broken up a number of funerals in the Umlazi township. They claimed that Inkatha supporters had arrived in traditional tribal dress armed with sticks and assegais.

Many of the UDF supporters fled in terror.

Asked to comment yesterday on Mr Sabelo's allegations, a police spokesman in Pretoria said the police were there to maintain law and order irrespective of the factions involved.

PFP NATAL LEADER SAYS PARTY NOW MULTIRACIAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Aug 85 p 9

[Text]

DURBAN. — The Progressive Federal party, the official opposition in the White House of Assembly was now a "truly multiracial" Party, Mr Peter Gastrow, the PFP's Natal provincial vice-chairman, said in Durban yesterday.

"We now have White, Coloured, Indian and Black members and we expect our all-round membership to increase considerably very\_soon." he said.

Mr Gastrow said "many people of colour" had come to join the PFP on their "own steam" and the Party's federal congress in Durban on Friday and Saturday was likely to be attended by members of different colours — mainly as observers.

He said the Party planned to "start spreading the message" after the congress by way of literature and house meetings and more and more people were certain to join.

Mr Gastrow said it was unlikely the Party would disclose its new found membership figures "now or in the future." — Sapa.

### RIFT BETWEEN PFP, UDF DEEPENING

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Aug 85 p 12

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text] THE Progressive Federal Party Congress opens in Durban today amid indications of a deepening rift between

the PFP and the United Democratic Front.

In striking new bargains with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu and his powerful Inkatha movement, Dr Slabbert has clearly angered both the UDF and the African National Congress.

The PFP's federal congress in Durban today and tomorrow may have to choose between the party's more moderate allies and the hard Left, as represented by the UDF and ANC, with their numerous smaller affiliates.

In the past few weeks Dr Slabbert and Chief Buthelezi have tightened bonds between the PFP and Inkatha. The two leaders are said to be "forging a new alliance" in opposing apartheid and calling for a national convention.

Dr Slabbert is believed to have canvassed support from other organisations, and an announcement could be made today on who these others are.

This PFP-Inkatha alliance has caused an estrangement between them and the UDF-ANC grouping. Both the UDF and ANC have de-

nounced the alliance and its call for a national convention, with harsh criticism of the PFP and Inkatha.

On the eve of today's congress, the UDF warned that if the PFP fields Coloured and Indian candidates for the tricameral parliament it will be "rejected with the same venom" as the Labour Party (Coloured) and the National People's Party and Solidarity (Indian).

The congress meets with conflicting demands from moderate and Leftist elements outside the party and clear differences within the party on how to react to the new situation.

The federal executive, which met in Durban yesterday to deal with congress issues, has asked the party to increase membership "not by mergers with any other political party but by actively campaigning to recruit members and expand its grassroots support on a nonracial basis."

While it has asked congress to be "sensitive to the problems that may result" if the PFP seeks election to all three houses of parliament, some regions and constituencies want a commitment to enter all three Houses.

A lead is expected to be given to the congress to-

day by Dr Slabbert when discussing the "new alliance", its strategy and aims.

In committing the PFP and its allies to "the politics of negotiation," he may have to move the party in a direction which could lead to a final split with the UDF.

### MAGOPA CHIEF TRIES TO STOP EVICTIONS

# Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Aug 85 p 12

[Text]

BLOEMFONTEIN. —
The appeal of Mr Shadrack More, of the Bakewena Magopa tribe, against the refusal of an order to restrain servants of the Minister of Co-operation and Development from forcibly evicting him and other members of his tribe from two farms in the Ventersdorp district was being heard by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Mr More is a resident of Magopa and has sought the order from the Transvaal Supreme Court on the mandate of 285 members of the tribe after Mr J de Villiers, magistrate and district commissioner for Ventersdorp, served an order under which members of the tribe were required to move to Pachsdraai in the Groot Marico district within 10 days.

The order was served at a special meeting on November 18, 1983.

Mr Justice H P van Dyk refused Mr More's application on November 25 1983.

The appeal is being heard by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie, Mr Justice Koetze, Mr Justice Trengove, Mr Justice Botha and Mr Justice Grosskopf.

Argument for Mr More was presented by Mr J Unterhalter SC, with Mr E Cameron and Mr G J Marcus, while that for the

Minister and Mr De Villiers was lodged by Mr I W B Illiers SC, and Mr M C de Klerk.

The tribe bought its farms in 1916 and 1931 and they are currently held in trust by the Minister of Co-operation and Development for the members of the tribe who live there.

The tribe lived on the farms since then; built houses, schools and churches and created a self-supporting community, the court was told.

Members grow their own food, rear cattle and sheep and own implements, including tractors and ploughs.

For Mr More it was submitted that the order issued on November 18 1983, under the hand of the Minister of Co-operation and Development and the State President, was of no force and effect unless or until Parliament has adopted a resolution to confirm that the tribe be removed. It was contended that no such resolution had been adopted.

When the application was heard it was common cause that on May 16 1975 the House of Assembly adopted a resolution that accepted the recommendation of the first report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs.

A similar resolution was adopted by the Senate on May 28 1975 to approve the withdrawal of the Bantu tribes that resided in the areas set out in Schedule B in terms of Section 5 of the Act.

Mr Justice Van Dyk held that the 1978 Parliamentary Resolution constituted sufficient compliance with the proviso, notwithstannding the fact that it did not specify the place to which the tribe was to move. — Sapa.

CRACK TROOPS GET NEW BATTLE COLORS AT BASE ON BORDER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Aug 85 p 12

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

BUFFALO BASE, Kavongo. — South African military history was made at this forward operational base yesterday when a unit received its colours in the operational area of South West Africa.

The colourful ceremony was conducted against the background of the stark parade ground, in English and Portuguese with General Jannie Geldenhuys, the Chief of the Army, speaking fluent Portuguese.

In a colourful ceremony, the crack, guerillastyle "baby" unit of the SA Defence Force, 32 Battalion, was presented with its colours by General Geldenhuys.

This was followed by the first-ever trooping of unit colours of a battle group in the operational area.

The ceremony was held just a stone's throw from Angola and the enemy at the forward base of the unit, which has twice been described by General Geldenhuys as having "the best fighting record in the S A Army since World War II".

Just 10-years-old, "Three-Two" has survived an overseas media claim that it had committed "atrocities" to

emerge as a showpiece, albeit somewhat cloak and dagger, of the S A Army.

### Heroes

The ceremony at the beautiful, lush base camp attracted a crowd of South African war heroes.

Former officers of the unit flew in to attend the celebrations — together with a number of S A Air Force members — mainly helicopter pilots who have worked closely with "Three-Two" in severe battle conditions.

All three former commanders of the unit, which is made up largely of Portuguese-speaking anti-communist Black Angolans — were present.

Particularly enjoying the colourful ceremonies on the parade ground was the founder O/C of the unit, the legendary — and highly unconventional — Colonel Jan Breytenbach.

"Three-Two" originated in the 1975 Angolan war when forces of the anti-MPLA government forces, the FNLA (Forcas Nacional de Liberacao de Angola) were left leaderless.

They were placed under the command of South African officers and after the Angolan war were placed as refugees at Buffalo Base and were known as Bravo Group.

The group was officially recognised as a SA Army unit on March 27, 1976, and in October of that year Bravo Group became 32 Battalion.

Guerrilla

Since the founding of 32 Battalion it has taken part in an ongoing conventional, semi-conventional, counter-insurgency and guerrilla role.

The unit's roll of honour is already nearing the 200 mark — most of them men with Portuguese names lost in action.

From within Angola itself it is known that the Government forces, the FAPLA army units, Swapo, and the surrogate Cuban and East German forces steer well clear of "Three-Two" units when they have to operate within Angola.

Buffalo

The present O/C of the unit is Colonel Eddie Viljoen who took over in December 1982.

Previous officers commanding were Colonel Breytenbach (1976/77); Brigadier Gert Nel (1977/78) and Colonel D Ferreira (1979/82).

The unit colours sponsored by Volkskas Bank insurance group, is rifle green with a fringe in black and gold — the colours of the SA Infantry

Corps.

The unit badge is a silver buffalo head with two crossed arrows with the scroll underlining the head. Many buffalo are found in the vicinity. the base, and the unit adopted "this gracious, fearless, proud animal" for its official badge.

cso: 3400/1035

#### BRIEFS

BUSINESS BOYCOTTS OPPOSED—The president of the Zulu Chamber of Commerce, Mr P. G. Gumede, says his organization cannot be a party to the consumer boycott of white businesses in Natal. He says Inyanda cannot support any move which is calculated to hurt the economy of the country, and retail businesses in particular. Speaking in Durban, Mr Gumede said black leaders in Natal should get around a conference table and discuss a better strategy to bring about peaceful change. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 85 MB]

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS DISCUSSED--Mr Louis Nel, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, says south Africa is to hold negotiations with Zimbabwe on the issue of illegal immigrants who are entering Venda from Zimbabwe. Mr Nel said in Pretoria that he has been informed by the Venda government that a large group of illegal immigrants have entered Venda over the past week. The Venda government does not regard the Zimbabweans as fugitives but as illegal immigrants, and Mr Nel said South Africa shared this view and will negotiate with the Zimbabwean government over their repatriation. The Venda government has also reported incidents of stock theft allegedly carried out from Zimbabwean soil. Mr Nel said this matter would also be discussed with Zimbabwe. The illegal immigrants and stock theft issues were raised during the bilateral ministers meeting between South Africa and Venda, which was held for the first time in Pretoria today. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 2 Sep 85 MB]

BLACK STUDENTS GET BURSARIES--More than 2,000 Black students and pupils have been awarded bursaries by the South African Institute of Race Relations for 1985, the institute announced in Johannesburg yesterday. The awards, worth more than R1.63 million, are the most ever awarded by the institute's bursary programme. The total number of people studying at universities, technikons, technical institutions, teacher training colleges, or at schools this year on institute bursaries is 2,197. Of this year's awards, 313 are for university bursaries, 40 for teacher trainer colleges or technikons, and 222 for schools. In addition to local trusts, companies, and individuals, the institute's bursary programme--believed to be the largest privately-run bursary programme in South Africa--is supported by grants from foreign governments, churches, and development agencies. This year there were 4,800 applications to the Johannesburg office alone. In other parts of the country the number of applicants was even greater. In addition, 2,329 pupils in government schools are registered for institute-run enrichment classes on Saturday mornings. The enrichment programme costs more than R187,000, bringing the contribution of the institute to Black education in 1985 to more than R1.8 million. -- SAPA [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Sep 85 p 23]

BLACK BUSINESSES SUFFER—Durban—Black businessmen had suffered bigger losses than their Indian counterparts in the recent unrest in townships around Durban, Mr P. G. Gumede, president of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, said yesterday. He said that destruction of Indian businesses at Inanda was "nothing compared with the damage in Kwamashu and Umlazi." It had been established that more than 95 percent of the affected Black businesses were not covered by riot insurance and that their Black owners stood to suffer "irreparable losses." The destruction of businesses in the townships had set back the development of Black entrepreneurs in these "most strategic" areas of Natal and KwaZulu, he said. Mr Gumede added that 100 temporary structures had been ordered at a cost of R500,000 to re-establish trading in the two townships. The South African Sugar Association had donated R50,000 after an appeal by the Chamber for help in re-establishing businesses, while Corobrick had donated 120,000 bricks.—SAPA [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Aug 85 p 4]

**UGANDA** 

### POLITICAL SITUATION DISCUSSED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 14 Aug 85 pp 3-5

[Text]

In the short-term there is almost no chance of the Military Council (MC) under Gen. Tito Okello controlling the anarchy into which the country has nose-dived progressively for three years. Uganda has become a case study in social collapse. Several factors militate against political and economic stability:-

1) Milton Obote's regime did nothing to heal the rift with the Baganda, the majority tribe that was effectively ostracised from political participation. The momentum behind the anti-government, Baganda-dominated guerrilla group, the National Resistance Army (NRA) under the leadership of Yoweri Maseveal, is now too great to stop unless the NRA is given strong representation.

2) Obote's political ineptitude also brought the Acholi tribe into a conflict with his Lango tribe that is also now too profound to control. Okello and his principal Acholi colleagues are far too

preoccupied in asserting Acholi power.

3) Okello, a 71-year-old career soldier, is politically naive and was never considered a particularly charismatic officer. His number two, Lt-Gen. Basilio Olara Okello, is less distinguished. They do not possess the calibre necessary to head the MC in present

4) The new prime minister, Paulo Muwanga, is the most accomplished political tactician in the government. But he was Obote's defence minister and vice-president and therefore has little credibility, least of all with his Baganda kinsmen.

5) Museveni is under considerable pressure from the most influencial core of his NRA guerrillas not to capitulate to the new government unless much of the present leadership is retired or ousted. Talks between Museveni and leading members of the MC and government are unlikely to produce a workable agreement. The NRA has already stated bluntly that Muwanga is unacceptable. Against the odds, the government obviously hopes the guerrillas will be loathe to return to the bush now that they have tasted "freedom", and that Democratic Party (DP) leader Paul Ssemogerere's acceptance of the interior portfolio will encourage Museveni to join the government without preconditions.

### Three-year gestation

Dissatisfaction with Obote prompted Museveni and NRA representatives to make contact with Acholi officers and disaffected members of Obote's United Peoples' Congress (UPC) as early as 1982. Certainly the Acholis by then were under growing pressure from the Langi (AC Vol 23 Nos 3 & 22). Links were also established with the Tanzanian government, which itself rapidly became disillusioned with Obote. When Salim Salim became Tanzanian prime minister last year, the NRA's contacts with Dar-es-Salaam improved markedly.

In October last year a senior NRA representative, Lt. James Katabarwa, held secret talks in Kampala with Muwanga and the three leading Acholi figures -Tito Okello. Basilio Okello and the then prime minister Otema Alimadi. The NRA claimed the talks were solely concerned with the convening of a roundtable conference. But on the day he was due to leave Kampala, Katabarwa made a series of injudicious telephone calls which were monitored by Chris Rwakasisi's notorious National Security Agency (NASA). Katabarwa was duly arrested, and despite apparent efforts by Alimadi and Muwanga to save him, he was hauled before a kangaroo court under a Lango officer, Lt. Egore (who specialised in setting up detention camps in the Luwero triangle last year -AC Vol 25 No 17), and promptly shot. The incident was kept under close wraps, presumably because. Obote feared any publicising of high-level dissent in his regime.

Apparently several senior NRA officers believed Acholi assurances that the planned takeover from Obote would result in Muwanga's demise and the advent of a new, non-tribal, democratic government – a naive conclusion that will only increase the guerrillas' vitriol now. Indeed, Museveni, with admirable conciliation, at first endorsed the Acholiled coup. Tito Okello's unilateral formation of the MC on 29 July prompted Museveni's repudiation. (Perhaps the DP's early willingness to partake in the new government persuaded Okello that the MC could do without the NRA's support.)

The momentum behind the Acholi drive for power and vengeance started with Idi Amin's overthrow in 1979, for after the rigged 1980 election, orchestrated by Muwanga, the Langi straightaway began to take the spoils of office for themselves, at the expense of the Acholi. In 1981 and 1982 there were at least two coup plots involving Basilio Okello and on another occasion Peter Oboma (AC Vol 23 No 3).

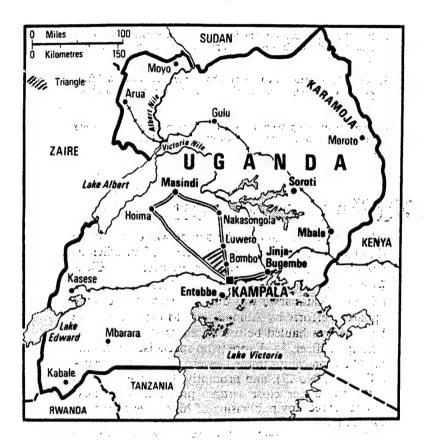
Holding the ring for the Langi was the ruthless and capable figure of army chief of staff Maj-Gen. David Oyite-Ojok. To his credit he minimised tribal rivalry. In December 1983 he was killed in a helicopter crash. His post was vacant for eight months - a period in which at least 18 Langi officers were killed by Acholis (AC Vol 25 Nos 4 & 6). In August last year Obote finally appointed a Lango, Lt-Col. Smith Opon-Acak, as the new chief of staff. Officers senior to him such as Basilio Okello were furious. An attempt to limit the damage by promoting other Acholis was predictably unsuccessful. By the time Opon-Acak had embarked on a "final offensive" against the NRA and Baganda civilians in the Luwero triangle, the Acholis were convinced that they were being used merely as cannon-fodder in the front line of an unwinnable war.

Muwanga, probably sensing Obote's demise, intensified his campaign to win a measure of support in the Baganda heartland. He attended weddings and funerals of Baganda dignatories, and had released a number of "unofficial" detainees from Kireka barracks, one of the many torture centres.

The annual UPC celebration of Obote's return in May 1980 from exile was held this year, as usual, in the UPC stronghold of Bushenyi in Ankole. For Obote it was a disaster. Only 20,000 people attended - a fraction of previous years - partly because the NRA had captured the nearby town of Kasese earlier in the month. A Muslim leader refused to take part in the official blessing at the gathering. and when Obote rose to speak a large part of the crowd walked out. The evening's official party at state lodge was cancelled. Obote's closest aides -John Luwuliza-Kirunda (minister of internal affairs), Peter Otai (minister of state for defence) and Rwakasisi - advised that the delegation of elders waiting to see Obote the following morning should be sent packing. (The elders doubtless would have complained about human rights abuses by NASA agents, who were recruited almost exclusively from the local Bairu tribe.)

By the end of June the divisions within the army had become irreconcilable. The NRA had surrounded Fort Portal, and a group of Acholi soldiers from the ordnance depot at Magamaga near Jinja refused to move west to engage the NRA. Opon-Acak sent a special unit of Langi troops to persuade the Acholis at Magamaga to change their minds. A fire-fight ensued. A few days later the Lango commander of the presidential guard, Lt-Col. Obot, was murdered in western Uganda, probably on the orders of Capt. Okwera, the Acholi commander of the beleaguered Fort Portal garrison, whose inmates had agreed on a tacit cease-fire with the surrounding NRA guerrillas.

On 7 July a dramatic and decisive battle took place close to Kampala at Mbuya barracks between Basilio Okello and Opon-Acak's factions. The Langi group had been sent to the barracks to collect a large consignment of weapons (possibly ordered from Bulgaria by Otai) destined for the Langi capital, Lira. Apparently the consignment had been intercepted by Muwanga's security officers at Entebbe airport and redirected to the Acholi town of Mbuya. At least 30 soldiers were killed in the fire-fight, and several Acholi troops were later taken to the infamous Makindye barracks where they were killed.



While Muwanga, the consummate politician to the end, explained the incident as "un-coordinated troop manoeuvres", Tito Okello left for Gulu in the north, where he was joined by other well-armed Acholis. On 10 July the Acholi airforce commander, Maj. Obongo, who narrowly escaped after his house was attacked, flew in a helicopter to join Okello. Capt. Okwera likewise left Fort Portal, asking the NRA to take over the barracks there, but was killed on the way to Gulu. Basilio Okello had by this time galvanised to his side a large number of troops. Opon-Acak then announced over the radio that Basilio had been sacked; in riposte Tito Okello demanded Basilio's reinstatement, Opon-Acak's dismissal and the immediate retirement of three cabinet ministers - probably Rwakasisi, Kirunda and Otar.

During his last week in power Obote addressed a meeting of army officers, telling them that their salaries would henceforth be paid on time and that appointments would be made on a non-tribal basis. On 25 July Uganda radio announced unconvincingly that army commanders throughout Uganda, with the exception of those in the north, had pledged their loyalty to the government. By this time every-

body knew it was only a matter of weeks or days before Obote was overthrown. Accordingly he left by helicopter for the town of Mbale near the **Kenyan** border.

In a last ditch attempt to get help, Obote dispatched minister of state for foreign affairs, Picho Owiny, and Alimadi to Dar-es-Salaam to ask President Nyerere for help. It was too late: the Acholis had already defeated Opon-Acak's force in a battle at Karuma falls, on the boundary between Acholi and Bunyoro regions. Lira fell without a fight. That night (26 July) the Acholi troops moved southwards at speed, one group going through the eastern towns of Soroti, Mbala and Jinja, the other through Masindi, Hoima, Nakasongola and Bombo. The following morning Kampala fell to Basilio Okello's troops, while the NRA guerrillas positioned themselves around the city in case Basilio needed help.

Apparently in a fruitless attempt at bravado, Obote had flown into Kampala hours earlier. His helicopter lifted out five minutes before Basilio arrived. Thirty minutes later he and Opon-Acak were in Kenya. Rwakasisi, one of the most wanted men, was reportedly captured in Jinja disguised as a woman. We understand he was shot in the legs while trying to escape into the Nile, and is now under arrest in Jinja hospital.

Once in undisputed control of Kampala, the Acholi troops ransacked the place. A lot of local Baganda, encouraged perhaps by Basilio Okello's catholicism and his known DP leanings, soon joined in. Service of the over the Service of the

Among those senior UPC figures who also fled to Kenya are Sam Tewungwa, minister of regional cooperation, Col. Omaria, minister of state in the prime minister's office, and Otai. Sam Samodaka, minister of planning, and Adoniya Tiberondwa, minister of industry, are in London. Patrick Masette-Kunya, minister of rehabilitation, and Alimadi are believed to be in Tanzania, from whence Alimadi appears to be sending frantic messages of congratulations to the two triumphant Okellos. Other UPC potentates are probably in Zaire and Zambia. Muwanga and several other UPC ministers sat tight the straining of in Kampala: 

# Job parade

1123311 Following Tito Okello's announcement of the nine-man MC on 29 July, and on the 30th Muwanga's accession to the premiership, there has been a steady stream of appointments to the main positions in the interim civilian cabinet. Most of the new civilian appointees bear Basilio's hall-mark and are unlikely to offer much resistance to domination by the MC. Muwanga might find their company difficult.

The main appointments to date are:-

- 1) Paul Ssemogerere internal affairs. As leader of the DP he was undoubtedly keen to establish a bridgehead for his party, and was probably under pressure from Cardinal Nsubuga and Baganda elders to heal tribal rifts. So far he had presided over the release of 1,200 political prisoners.
- 2) Col. Wilson Toko defence and vice-chairman of the MC. For several years he has been chairman of Uganda Airlines. A powerful, discreet man, he has an Acholi wife and hails from West Nile, whence at least 200,000 people fled into exile during Obote's tenure of office.
- 3) Olara Otunnu foreign affairs. A former UPC member and ambassador to the UN, he is a close friend of Tito Okello's.
- 4) Benjamin Obonyo health. He is one of the founder-members of the National Liberal Party (NLP), an Acholi breakaway from the DP, formed after DP vice-president Tiberio Okeny fought

and lost a leadership battle with Ssemogerere last year. (Okeny said that he would work with the Acholi to overthrow Obote.)

- 5) Abraham Warigo finance. A Muganda and Obote's former minister of housing, he was regarded as one of the most restrained and respected members of Obote's cabinets.
- 6) Robert Kitariko public service and cabinet affairs. A Muchiga, he is DP secretary-general.
- 7) Joshua Mayanga-Nkangi local government. (Appointment still to be announced.) He is president of the Conservative Party - one of the four approved parties in the 1980 elections. (It mounted an unsuccessful campaign in Buganda.)

8) Sam Kutesa - legal and constitutional affairs. (Appointment still to be announced.) He is assistant-secretary-general of the DP, and a Munyankole.

Other appointments of note are Anthony Ocaya, the Acholi secretary-general of the NLP, as governor of the Bank of Uganda; and on the military front Brig. Fred Oketcho (either Acholi or Japadhola) has been made army chief of staff. (Two other Acholis have been promoted to Brigadier.) . . . .

Overall, the spread of tribes, parties and religions among the appointees does little to disguise the Acholis' dominance. Five of the nine-man MC appear to be Acholi, though one MC member, Salim Saleh, is apparently Museveni's brother. (The NRA says he has declined to take up the post.)

While the plethora of opposition movements and their real or nominal leaders converge on Kampala in the hope of securing office, three Acholi powerbrokers are evident: Isaac Ojok (former minister of education), Akena Ojok (former minister of power and communications), and J.G. Otim (former minister of animal resources).

Out in the bush, mostly in the west, the NRA guerrillas are in full control of large areas, waiting to see what emerges from the Kampala horse-trading. They control the towns of Kasese, Fort Portal and Bundibugyo in Toro. And in Ankole and western Buganda they walk about unrestrained in such towns as Bushenyi, Mbarara, Mubende, Masaka, and of course, while paying a little more attention to possible trouble, in Kampala. They remain comparatively well-disciplined. And they have not forgotten that Muwanga was Obote's minister of defence, that Basilio Okelio was military commander of Kampala and later Bombo during some of the most brutal army rampages through the Luwero triangle. A confrontation with Basilio Okello's forces is probably inevitable.

MOB ACTION THREATENED IF CORRUPT FORMER-MINISTER NOT PUNISHED

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 p 2,5

[Letter to the Editor]

[Text] Dear Editor,

Kindly allow a space to these views in your widely read Newspaper.

If there has ever been a corrupt, despotic and selfish Cabinet since Uganda's Independence (save one or two Ministers) it was Obote's Cabinet that was toppled last Saturday, 27th July 1985.

We salute Mzee Tito Okello the Chairman of the Military Council and Lt. General Bazilio Olara Okello for the timely action they took just on the eve of the Registration exercise because these same corrupt Ministers were going to use their ill gotten wealth on the people so that they are returned to Parliament, to continue looting the Wanachi. We know the crimes of each individual Minister from those who were smuggling our coffee, paraffin and Government vehicles to Zaire to those who were Chairmen of Kibanda boys.

The Wanainchi, however get irritated and disappointed when they keep seeing these very Ministers galivanting everywhere boosting that nothing has changed. Everywere you go, from Ashok Bar to Fairway hotel, in Nile Mansions, everywhere they are drinking and laughing the whole thing

We wish to request the Military Council to take this matter seriously and we do suggest that all these former Ministers who are loitering everywhere should be rounded and locked up in Luzira.

A commission of inquiry into the conduct of each individual both in his former office and his private live should then be set up. The Wanainchi are ready to testify to the Commission.

Finally, we must emphasize that tempers keep rising the more we keep seeing these Minsiters and unless our suggestion is taken mob justice may be applied.

CHARLES BENSON WAISWA

# PERSONAL HISTORIES OF MINISTERS OUTLINED

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 p 3

### [Text]

THE ruling Military Council enters into 4th week this week without yet a full cabinet and with the affairs of most government department still being ran by Permanent Secretaries of particular Ministries

So far 18 Ministries have had theri Ministries appointed remianing six or os Ministries yet to be given out. But the sharing of the Ministries so far which are being announced in bits is between the two parties UPC and D.P. taking up large portions of the sharing.

With veteran politician Paulo Muwanga as the executive Prime Minister is heading a cabinet that so far include former General Manager of Uganda Airlines Pilot before he was seconded to become General Manager of then East African Airways in Nairobi in early 1970's. After the break up of the East African Community and after Liberation in

1979, Col. Toko came back to head the Uganda Airlines.

Foreign Minister Olara Otunnu was formerly Uganda's Ambassador to the United Nations. Olara Otunnu born in Kitgum, Northern Ugandan had his studies disrupted at Makerere University in the 1970s and had to flee the country to Dares-Salaam where he completed his studies. was appointed Uganda's Ambassador to the United Nations after the 1980 elections.

Veteran politician and President of the oldest surviving Uganda's Political Party, the Democratic Party (DP), Dr Paul Kawanga Semogerere took over the now very sensitive Internal Affairs Ministry. Born in the Ssese Islands of Lake Victoria, Semogerere had his education at Makerere University before he went to the U.S. where he secured his Masters Degree and PHD.

Semogerere who was first a teacher, then an administrator and later turned into a politician, had himself to be locked up in 1969 after the banning of

his Party, D.P. by Milton Cobte. He was then Publicity Secretary of D.P. It was Idi who set him free after a coup in 1971. But he later fled into exile in the U.S. as Amin became hostile, only to come back in 1979 after the ouster of Amin. He was elected Party President in 1980 am re-elected in 1985. He an M.P. for Moigi South East. He has been the most critic of the Obote regime as on human rights and the economic policy.

Finance Minister Abraham Waliggo, is an Electrical Engineer by profession and owns an Engineering firm. He held various posts in public bodies and is a member of a number of professional bodies. He emerged on the political scene in 1980 when he was appointed Minister Works and after the 1980 elections, he was appointed Minister of Housing and Urban Development, a post he held until last month.

Sam Kuteesa, an advocate by profession took over the Justice Ministry as well as being the

Attorney General. Born in Mbarara North, Western Uganda, Kuteesa worked in the Advisory Board of Trade after his graduation Makerere University and the Law Development Centre. He was an M.P. for Mbarara North where he defeated Yoweri Museveni (now NRA leader) in the 1980 elections. Just two years ago, Kuteesa went back to practicing law and has been an advocate with Mulenga. Kalemera and Company Advocates.

Birlandi-Ssali now Minister for Culture and Community Development is an old politician who turns to business sports when party politics turns dirty. Educated in Pakistan where he secured his degree Bidandi-Ssali was an active politician the late 1960s but played a low profile in the 1970's when Party politics was banned and was a coach for the National Football team. In 1980 he became Minister the pre-election government but after elections in 1980 after having been defeated in the elections in Kampala East and with his party President Yoweri Museveni going into the bush to wage a querrilla warfare, Bidandi-Ssali abandoned Party politics and went back to run his Printing Press business

and coaching his football club. He was also team manager of the National team, the Cranes.

Dent Ocaya Lakidi
until his appointment as
Minister of Local government was Deputy Mayor
of Kampala city. He
was also the Chief Administrative Secretary at
the UPC Secretariat.
He originates from Northem Uganda.

Joshua Mayanja-Nkangi born in Masaka the leader of the Conservative Party (CP) was appointed Minister of Labour. He was the last "Katikiro" (Prime Minister) of the then Buganda government before . Uganda became a Republic in 1966. Before he became 'Katikiro' he was commerce Minister in the same government. Mayanja Nkangi is a lawyer by profession and runs a law firm known as Mayanja-Nkangi and Company Advocates.

There are three former civil servants, one Robert Kitariko who was a Permanent Secretary but resigned to contest election in 1980 but since then he has become a businessman and Politician Born in Kabale, he is the Secretary General of the Democratic Party and has been appointed Minister of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs.

Another one is a retired Civil servanta Mr. Ajiku who took over as Minister of Works while Mr. Peter Omar Ajagu became Minister of Land, Water and Mineral Resources, both of them being little known in the Political area.

Former B.A.T. Lefaf-Manager Vicent Kirabo Kyamaria emerged from prison to be appointed Minister of Industry. He originates from Hoima District.

Former M.P. for Kampala East Dr. Micheal Ojok Mulozi was appointed Information Minister. Mulozi who studied Journalism in Italy briefly worked as a reporter in the Ministry of Information before changing profession to managerial posts, DP's Publicity Secretary Before joining politics, he was general manager of the Uganda Fishnet Manufactures.

A Kampala medical surgeion, Benjamin Obonyo took over the Ministry of Health. Obonyo first appointed Minister in the 1980 military commission government but he did not fair well in the elections that followed.

Other Ministries yet to get Ministers include that of Education, Cooperatives and Marketing Commerce, Regional cooperation, Tourism and Wildlife, Agriculture and Forestry, Animal Industry, and Planning and Economic Development.

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CALL FOR NATIONAL ARMY --

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 pp 2,5

[Letter to the Editor]

[Text] Dear Sir,

The July Revolution could make a turning point in the politics of Uganda since independence. Uganda's politics has been characterized by tribal and religious struggles which have torn the country to pieces.

For such a long time Ugandans have had to do with untold suffering at the hands of fellow Ugandans. In fact many Ugandans have wondered whether Ugandan would have got the so-called independence and whether it wouldn't have been better to remain under colonial rule.

Uganda has had leaders who sought at any cost to further their personal and sectarian interests. They were fully committed to destruction, plunder and looting.

These leades, were very unpopular and to sustain themselves in power they had to resort to use of force and total unhuman oppression against those that tried to unseat them or even merely challenge them.

They further looted the country dry and invested in foreign countries. The looting of the country's wealth brings dual loss to its populace. Firstly it denies them services like medical and the like which otherwise should be extended to them as a right. There was also no development in any sector or infrastructure.

Secondly, by investing outside these rulers deny their countrymen benefits like employment opportunities and products and investments. Later the fallen dictators continue to live in paradise in foreign countries while their countrymen are at the verge of starvation.

In the few days following the fall of dictators people rejoice. But their happiness is short-lived as rulers turn into more or less the same dictators before them. The sweet words of promises made by the successors of fallen

dictators are soon thrown into a dustbin and history repeats itself. For how long must Ugandans continue revolving in this vicious circle of misery?

Ugandans must wake up now and find a permanent solution for our political problems. If we wait for too long the cancer may become incurable and therefore fatal. But I genuinely believe that we still have time and I am happy as I write now that the trend seems to be moving towards the solution I am about to propose.

If we are to solve our political problems, we must be frank to each other. We must come out clean and open heartedly to start facts with complete realism. We must now end speaking behind closed doors or drawn curtains. If the lives of the present generation have been messed up the future generation should live in a better Uganda. We must not continue perpetuating mischief.

Furthermore, if Uganda is to solve its problems it must get a national army. It must be an army that is representative of all areas of Uganda.

Lastly I appeal to the new administration that this time let it make history.

The present leaders ought to know and realise that days have changed. Today, a Uganda is not easily taken for a ride. Because of the terrible experiences they have gone through Ugandans have become alert suspicious and doubtful. The litmut papers for a dictator is fully known to them.

Fellow Ugandans, let us learn from past mistakes let us not turn our country into hell. May the God Almighty bless us this time and guide us in our endeavours to form a unified Uganda.

Joseph Basjjabaka E N T E B B E

# GOVERNMENT CALLS BACK DISMISSED CIVIL SERVANTS

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 pp 1,4

[Text] The ruling Military Government of General Tito Okello Lutwa, has started recalling civil servants dismissed from their jobs by the former Obote regime. Most of them were Senior Technical employees dismissed by the Obote regime mainly on political grounds - being or suspected to be non-supporters of his ruling Uganda Peoples Congress Party.

According to sources the exercise to call back the dismissed civil servants came as a directive from the Ministry of Public Services and Cabinet Affairs - the Ministry responsible for the running of government Ministries.

In the Ministry of Information as many as ten technical civil servants -both Engineers and journalists, who had been laid off since 1981 were recalled back last week. They include UTV Director for Engineering Mr. Mabalaza and Obo, Pupil Engineer Mrs Lwanga Njuki, Controller of Programmes Mr. Serwadda, Chief Commercial Manager, Mr. Kagimu Mukasa, Controller of Programmes Radio Uganda Mr Serwadda, Senior Editor Mr. Bakuba etc. The same is to have happened in other Ministries.

The same directive, sources further said, also applied to all those who had resigned in anticipation of standing as candidates in the then planned General elections. Many of those, FOCUS was made to understand, had already resumed their duties except a few of them. It can be recalled that nearly all of those who had resigned from the civil service were going to contest the elections on a UPC ticket.

It was however not known as a directive to recall the illegally dismissed personnel from their jobs will also apply to those dismissed in the public sector - (Parastatal Organisation and Public Companies.

Most of the Politically oriented dismissals in the Obote regime were effected by Ministers of the respective Ministries at the instigation of the Party fanatics, some with the aim of taking over their positions, others of settle their old scores while others for gaining favours from the top party authorities. The situation was made worse when it reached to public companies and parastatal organisations where UPC workers branches had to be opened despite the existence and acceptance of various political Parties in the country.

The result was that these branches worked as spying branches to workers who were suspected to be non-Party supporters resulting in mass dismissals. In most cases, the branches also interfered in the management duties. They overruled the management decisions and made their own appointments in some positions.

The result of such politically oriented dismissals, led to the appointment of unqualified or unexperienced people into vital technical positions leading to the break down of services and production. Hence the stagnat situation Uganda finds itself into.

CSO: 4300/1043

# ZAMBIA ASSURES RELATIONS

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 pp 1, 6

[Text]

A group of over 150 Ugandans, diehards of the twice deposed Ugandan authoritarian ruler, Milton Obote, have followed their leader, Milton Obote to Zambia where he migrated to take permanent refuge.

According to diplotatic sources in Nairobi, the group left for Lusaka last Thursday by air in top secrecy. Amond those said to be in the group were his Chief of Staff Smith Opon Acak his Minister of State for Defence Peter Pro Okai and his Interior " Minister John Luwuliza-Kirumada and several other military personnel But his wife, Miria Obote was said not have been in the group that left for Zambia. But it was not whether the whole group will stay with him Zambia or whether some will find destinations elsewhere.

In Lusaka, the Zambia

interior Minister said Zambia will offer Obote refuge but this, should not worry Ugandan authorities. He said that Obote arrived there univited but will stay there as long as he wishes.

The Minister said that they have offered Obote assylum purely on its international obligation to offer political refu gees asylum. He said that Zambia will also offer assylum to a froup of over 150 Ugandans who have followed Obote to Zambia.

It can be recalled that Obote had bought executive houses in Zambia, London and India. And on his flee from the country he took foreign exchange that could run the country for another three years. However Focus learnt that a number of the Obote supporters were still in Kenya and many

of them are planning to come back but still "watching the situation". It can be recalled that Uganda's head of State Okello General Tito Lutwa has called on every Ugandan to return home saying the quarrel was with Obote only but not with any other person. But he said, every Ugandan is free to where he likes, those who like to be outside are free to do so those who wish to in Udanda are also free.

The Kenyan government has not made any mention or statement on the former Ugandan leader's stay in Nairobi for the two weeks after his oust from power on July 27, 1985.

It has not even mentioned his departure from Kenya.

Diplomatic sources from Nairobi, said Kenyan government action not to offer permanent refuge to Obote was to maintain the good relations between the two neighbouring countries.

Kenyan governments, according to the past history has been a traditional friend for the successive Ugandan government since independence and has offered refuge to Ugandan political exiles, while also extraditing some political exiles.

RWAYARARE, CHOUDRY DENY DETENTION

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Text]

FORMER M.nisters of Culture and Community. Development, and that of Land, Mineral and Water Recours: Mes is James Rwanyarare and Max Choudry have categorically refuted, as malcious Press raports that they were being detained at Luzira Prison.

The Ministers who were reacting to a story in the last is ue of 'FOCUS' that they were being detained at Luzira said that they had not been detained and were at the r home in Kampala. They aid that they had been cleared by the Military Council as now freemen-

Dr. Rwanyar re presented hims if in the Focus office last week accompanied by a group of people including an Asian and a former Journalist. Waving his stick and hitting at the tables in the office Rwanyarare produced a letter from the Military Council which he said cleared him to be

now a free man. He even said that his colleague Max Choudry had been cleared freeman by the same body—the Military Council—adding that he does not think there is any former Minister at Luzira Prison.

And in a Telephone call to Focus. Mr. Max Choudry dismissed the report that he was at Lucira saying he was not detained. His lawyers M/s. Nicholas Lwanga and Co. Advecates in a letter to Focus also said their client had not been detained and is free at his home in Kampala and

on further investigations. Focus was nade to learn that the two former Ministers, Rwanyarare and Choudry, except Rwaka is and those who fled the country, were among several other former Ministers cleared by the Military Council as now freemen.

Investigation: further revealed that most of the former Ministers were still fearing to go to their home areas and were in Kampala. They fear that the local people might revenge on them when they go back.

One former Minister from Western Uganda, told Focus, that he was still waiting for the situation to cool down upcountry before he ventures to go there, adding that all his cows had been eaten, house destroyed plantations cut down and if he zoes there now he might be bearen to death. "People are still wild" he said.

The former Minister however declined to accept or deny, the statement that the destruction of his property was a rigult of the attrocties mated out at the people in the area by his agents.

cso: 3400/1043

# GOVERNMENT, FEDEM AGREEMENT

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Uganda Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEM) which has been one of the armed organizations fighting the recently deposed Obote government is in the process of laying down its arms after reaching agreement with the new Military government.

The sudden agreement was reached yeaterday after reports circulated in Kampala to the effect that the organisations field commander Captain George Nkwanga had disappeared from the Capital City. There were also stepped up Security measures especially in the Eastern part of the capital.

FEDEM and the Uganda government agreed on the movements participation in government and the army and the need to revise the national constitution.

The two parties held detailed discussions on Uganda politics since the attainment of Independence in 1962. They also agreed on a number of conditions which include FEDEM's participation in the cabinet and the Military council

The specific details of the agreement include the release of all FEDEM Prisoners who are mainly guerrillas captured in action, and the integration of qualified Ugandan guerrillas into the national army. It was also agreed to make the tribalbalance be reflected in the national army.

There was further agreement on reducing the number of barracks in and around Kampala with specific reference to Kireka Army Barracks on the outskirts of the City.

The government and FEDEM agreed on the abolition of all intelligence agencies like NASA which fall outside Police and Army set up.

They finally agreed on the need to draw up a programme to help resettle all displaced peoples and some former guerrillas and the establishment of a Committee on Rehabilitation. The two parties pledged to work hand-in-hand to help restore the nation to prosperity.

The agreement which took place at the International Conference Centre in Kampala was in response to the call for peace and unity by the Head of State and Chairman of the Military Council General Tito Okello. The government side was led by the Vice Chairman of the Military Council and Minister of Defence Colonel Toko, and Dr David Lwanga represented FEDEM

It can be recalled that a number of UFM guerrallias caught into action or surrendered were not released in the mass release now over a week ago but left into jail until agreement with the fighting groups is reached.

Meanwhile, over the week-end, another guerrilla group, the Uganda National Rescue Front UNRF, which is one of the groups that have been fighting against the ousted government of Obote has agreed to lay down their arms. They also pledged total loyalty to the Chairman of the Military Council, and Head of State General Tito Okello Lutwa.

This understanding was reached during a meeting held between the Military Council and the Front at the Uganda International Conference Centre in Kampala.

The Uganda National Rescue Front stated that since the common enemy Obote was no longer there, there is no need for any fighting and called upon all other fighting groups to lay downs arms and come forward for peace talks with the Military Council in the interest of peace, stability and unity.

Both sides observed the urgency of organized repartriation and resettlement of Ugandans still outside the country.

cso: 3400/1043

# GOVERNMENT URGED TO ENFORCE SECURITY LAW

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 pp 2,5

[Text] There is an urgent need for a new code or at least a drastic change in the entire security law and order enforcement set up, a Kampala politician and one time fighting in the war against Amin, A. Kiwanuka-Mutenzagullu said in a statement to FOCUS.

It is now time to remove army garrisons from centres of high density population like Lubiri, Makindye, Magamaga, Katogyo in Fort-Portal Mbale, Jinja, Masinidi and Simba in Mbarara, he suggested.

Wheras Obote's indoctrinational policy needed garrisons to display armed might to create fear among the population so as to silence popular criticism and agitation for democracy, the statement said, the garrisons have no other technical security requisite to justify their continued presence in towns.

Where there are garrisons among the people, civilians become agents of indisciplined soldiers who jointly move on rampage. Uniforms and guns have become passports to steal, rob, rape and even kill with impunity. Separation between soldiers and civilians is a great practical solution.

These garrisons within the centre of towns and villages often tend to weaken defence secrecy systems.

Furthermore, Kiwanuka urges, attacks on defence installations have often resulted in mass victimasation of hundreds of innocent civilians.

And un-controlled movement of soldiers in uniform and with guns does attract thugs to attack them so as to gain access to both uniform and gun. In turn the thugs use these guns and uniforms to terrorise people. And as a result soldiers are deployed in those areas, causing maore terror.

This point, the statement emphasizes the need to return to the professional criminal investigation. Equality before the law should be a must. Thus Chiefs, Soldiers, Policemen and Ministers have to live under the law like their follow countrymen, and not like Obote's regime where some people were above the law.

In addition, soldiers should be registered and their movements controlled. This should also be applied to Peoples' Militia wherever they exist.

More than this the army ought to respect the Police as an identical force specifically trained and in charge of civilian law and order. And the army must never exercise Police power it said.

The statement suggested retraining, modern equipment, better remuneration and conditions of service for both the Police and the army are also necessary to counteract corruption and the like and can give impetus to professional zeal.

And at the moment thousands of guns in the hands of former NASAs, Chiefs, Youth wingers, defecting soldiers and Special Police Force personnel and habitual thugs are at large. They all need to be rounded up and to be put to proper use.

Kiwanuka-Mutenzagulla advised the Military Council to appoint fresh Ministers, District Commissioners and Chiefs. This is because it is impossible to expect the population to listen to a pack of fellows in whom they have the least respect and confidence or at least those who contributed to attrocities, economic slowdown and large scale institutionalised demoralisation.

CSO: 3400/1043

#### COFFEE EXPORT RESUMED

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 p 6

# [Text]

Uganda has resumed its Coffee export through the port of Mombasa after nearly a month of export stalement mainly as a result of the Military take over in Uganda.

A "Focus" reporter returning from Nairobi, yesterday saw about 50 heavy trucks full of Uganda Coffee at Malaba Custom post enroute to Mombasa.

The resumption of the Coffee export raises high hopes for the Uganda Coffee farmer and the government in general., Earlier, there were rears that Uganda might not meet its International Coffee Organi-

sation (I.C.O.) quota due to recent non-export partly as aresult of the Security situation follo wing the fall of Milton Obote from power last month! There were also reports that the Coffee authorities in Uganda had been posed with a problem as the national Coffee Processing plant at Bugolobi near Kampala had been filled to capacity.

Following the fall of Milton Obote from power the new Military authorities closed all the Uganda borders. Many Commercial trucks were trapped both in Uganda and Kenya. Even with

the re-opening of the borders some transport authorities thought it unwise to risk their vehicles.

Meanwhile "Focus" has also learn't that when Dr. Milton Obote was

deposed from power, he "unsucessfully tried to sell some Uganda Coffee already at Mombasa.

#### BRIEFS

FEDEMU CAPTAIN KILLED--One of the field commanders of the Federal Democratic Army, FEDEMU, has died in a motor accident. According to an announcement issued today by the commandants [word indistinct] Captain (Ntwanga), the zone commander in charge of Mpigi District, Captain (Charles Gelabizu) died in a car accident at Mayaa) on the Kampala-Masaka road yesterday. [Text] [Kampala Domestic Service in English 1730 GMT 4 Sep 85 EA]

MOI RECEIVES MESSAGE--The Uganda peace talks which were adjourned last week in Nairobi resumed this morning at Harambee House under the chairmanship of President Daniel Arap Moi. The Ugandan delegation was headed by Colonel Gad Wilson Toko while the NRA [National Resistance Army--FBIS] delegation is led by Yoweri Museveni. Talks are still continuing this evening. [passage omitted: Moi received message from the Union of Ugandan Students in Lesotho.] President Moi also received another message from the Uganda human rights activists in Scandinavia. The message, sent by the group's chairman, Mr (Mukibi) and his secretary Dr (Kasero), said that acts that might cause further bloodshed in Uganda should be condemned by all Ugandan political parties and human rights [as heard]. The organization demanded the establishment of an international commission of inquiry to probe into the acts of genocide committed in Uganda. The message went on to say that any peace agreement based on an unrealistic foundation would not last and was bound to cause further destruction of lives and property in Uganda. [Excerpt] [Naibori Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 4 Sept 85 EA]

HOUSING CO-OP SOCIETY REVIVED--A cooperative Society, the African Co-operative Housing society, has been revived to cater for a diversified programme which will accomodate several projects for offering employement and job opportunity to the unemployed. In a press statement the Secretary Manager of the society Mr. B. Mukasa-Gwotayisenaya emphasized that the society focuses on the construction of low-cost houses for the low-income people and whose repayment policy. Calling upon Ugandans to join the society, the Secretary Manager noted that Uganda's housing problem was also noted during a seminar by ICA regional office in 1979 in Nairobi. The countries which participated in the 1979 conference included Botswana, Mauritius, Lesotho, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. The African Co-operative Housing Society represented Uganda. Mr. Mukasa-Gwotayise also condemned those groups which since 1983 have been seeking to take over the role of the society. [Text] [Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 20 Aug 85 p 3]

ZIMBABWE

#### LIBYA READY TO GIVE WEAPONS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Sep 85 p 9

[Text]

HARARE. — Libya's Ambassador to Zimbabwe has been quoted as saying his government is ready to supply arms to Zimbabwe and other neighbouring Black-ruled states to counter South Africa's alleged destabilisation in Southern Africa.

Zimbabwe's National News Agency, Ziana, said Mr Amer Tughar was speaking at a reception marking his country's anniversary of the revolution that brought Libyan leader Col Muammar Gaddafi to power 16 years ago.

"Libya will send more arms and ammunition to Zimbabwe and other independent countries in the region should there be a need," he said.

He was referring to frequent accusations by Black states that South Africa was sabotaging their development by sponsoring rebels.

Pretoria denied the charge.

The Agency added that Mr Tughar pledged Libya's willingness to step up aid to Black nationalist movements fighting against South Africa's White minority rule. — Sapa-Reuter.

ZIMBABWE

#### RADIO TRUTH REACTS TO ZANU-PF CRITICISM

MB041409 (Clandestine) Radio Truth to Zimbabwe in English 0430 GMT 4 Sep 85

### [Station commentary]

[Text] You are listening to the English-language program of Radio Truth brought to you everyday at this time. This message leads us naturally to comment on the latest ZANU-PF proposal to install a new radio transmitter at Beitbridge. According to our minister of information, this station will beam programs in Venda language across the border to South Africa. Comrade Nathan told parliament that the purpose of the new transmitter was to counter, what he termed, the pernicious propaganda coming from Radio Truth. He described us as a South African organization which was harshly critical of the ZANU-PF regime and a supporter of antigovernment dissidents.

We at Radio Truth are flattered by the repeated exposure that we are given by the government. We know from the mail that we receive and from various market analyses that we have a wide listership throughout our land. Neverthe less, we challenge the government, and the minister in particular, on this false allegation. Certainly, we are critical of the ZANU-PF administration, wherever and whenever such criticism is justified. On the other hand, when they do something worthy of the trust placed upon them, we are the first to commend them. We are not and never have been in support of dissident activities.

As you have heard earlier in this program, we condemn wanton violence in the harshest terms. Equally, we condemn the government's attitude that brute force against innocent civilians is the only way to resolve our internal problems. We throw down the gauntlet to our minister of disinformation. Radio Truth challenges him to print in full our English-language broadcast so that the public at large may judge for themselves the merits of his accusation about pernicious propaganda. Listeners have been invited on a number of occasions to write to us and to correct any misrepresentations that may have inadvertently found their way into our program material.

We do not claim to be infallible, but our listeners know that we are right, at least 90 percent of the time. On the odd occasion when a mistake is made, we hasten to correct it at the first opportunity. As our title implies, we tell the truth and reveal the facts that are frequently withheld or distorted

by our government-controlled media. Let us see if ZANU-PF has the courage to take up our challenge. In particular, we would like the people of this country as a whole to hear and understand our statement of intent. We reproduce it today for the benefit of new listeners and we dare the government to print the full and unabridged version in all our national newspapers and to broadcast it over the state radio and television services. Here is the position statement of this station:

Our title, Radio Truth, was well chosen. In the welter of lies, half-truths, and distortions emanating daily from the government-controlled media in Harare, it was and still is vital that the voice of truth be heard. This is the purpose that we serve. Contrary to the spurious propaganda stories, Radio Truth is not and never has been anti-Zimbabwe. We are a Zimbabwean-based organization, manned by dedicated Zimbabweans. Our loyalty to this country and its people is unquestioned. We are Zimbabwe nationalists in the true sense of that word, and we do not support any specific faction or tribal grouping within our society.

Through our own reporters and through friends all over the country, we have access to the truth in all its forms: the spoken word, documents, and photographs. It is our task to broadcast the facts about Zimbabwe, our neighbors, and, where appropriate, the world at large. We will draw conclusions and pass relevant comments, for the availability of constructive criticism is a healthy sign in any country. Since this is denied through normal channels in Zimbabwe, it is necessary to have a clandestine radio station that can fulfill the role.

We are unashamedly anti-marxist. We believe this to be an evil and worthless ideology that can only bring disaster to our land. We will expose its ruthless nature, its reliance on force, and its utter failure to bring anything but fear, misery, and poverty to those countries that subscribe to its principles. We believe fervently in the principles of democracy and the outstanding merits of free enterprise.

We value highly the basic freedoms inherent in the democratic system and tradition: freedom of thought, expression, association, and worship, and the right to life and liberty for every individual. To this end, we will support all those groups and associations dedicated to the same philosophy. Where they are denied a platform by government or party decree or by mob violence, Radio Truth will ensure that their voice is heard.

It is our privilege and duty to present alternative political philosophies to those of ZANU-PF and to promote their adoption by opposition forces. To lay to rest another canard, Radio Truth does not promote civil strife or tribal animosity. We deplore violence, whether the perpetrators are government forces or dissidents. We have consistently urged all parties to pursue their differences through the proper and democratic channels and to seek solutions through dialogue and negotiation.

We abhor corruption and nepotism in our public life and the declining standards of public administration. It is our desire to see an efficient, incorrupt, and a political public service, an impartial judiciary, and security forces that are loyal to the state and its people, not to a political party.

Once again, contrary to ZANU-PF's mouthings, we are not a relic of colonialism, nor do we foresee white rule ever returning to Zimbabwe. We accept black rule, but we wish it to be just, efficient, and democratic. For all these reasons, Radio Truth is strongly opposed to the concept of a 1-party state, which conflicts with everything that we stand for. We will resist ZANU-PF because we know that their policies can bring nothing but hardship and misery to our people and will destroy our national pride.

So, stay tuned to Radio Truth, the voice of free Zimbabwe!

ZIMBABWE

#### MUZOREWA FAMILY JOINS ZANU- PF

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Aug 85 p 2

[Text]

HARARE. - Members of the family of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the United African National Council and Prime Minister of the shortlived state of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia before independence, vesterday dramaticaly shunned his party in a statement announcing their allegiance to the ruling Zanu (PF) of Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe.

The Bishop is at present in the United States where he went after his defeat in the Glen View constituency in last month's general election.

A statement issued to the Press in the office of the Minister of State for Security, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, by senior Muzorewa family members, brothers Ernest and Gwinyai, said the name Muzorewa "need not be co-terminous with the UANC as had been the general, though unfortunate, tendency hitherto".

They said when they made their appointment with the Minister this was the message they voluntarily wished the people of Zimbabwe to receive.

The statement said: "Since the general election results clearly indicated that Zanu (PF) is the most popular political party, the Muzorewa family residing in Zimbabwe decided the most reasonable response is to support the Zanu (PF) government without any reservations."

The brothers also said that another "rather tragic general confusion" was that people tended to associate the UANC with the United Methodist Church (the USbased form of Methodism in which the UANC leader holds his Bishopric).

"The Muzorewas wish to advise Zimbabweans who wish to worship God through the United Methodist Church that they do not have to be UANC members.

"Neither do they have to be United Methodist Church members in order to be acceptable in political circles." — Sapa.

ZIMBABWE

#### BRIEFS

CAZ VIEWS ON SOCIALISM—A member of the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe [CAZ], Mr P.K. Van der Byl, yesterday said his party is not totally opposed to the principles of socialism. There were state involvements in the economy. ZIANA reports that Senator Van der Byl said the government has to be praised for its honorable socialist intention to narrow the gap between rich and poor. He said tremendous change had taken place in the country during the past five years, and Zimbabwe's progress since independence has been incredibly smooth. However, he warned that socialism should not be taken too far, as foreign investors would shun Zimbabwe. He suggested two ways of dealing with unemployment in the country. Senator Van der Byl said brakes should be put to the population growth and more money be channelled to the resettlement programs. In speeding resettlement, he said, more people would not live in a subsistence economy.

CSO: 3400/1058

END